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MARRIAGE AS A STATUS-ACHIEVING DEVICE*

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD

William T. Carter Foundation, University of Pennsylvania

● In a status-changing society such as ours, great emphasis comes to be placed upon the mechanism by which status is determined. Social scientists, chiefly sociologists and anthropologists, have emphasized thus far mostly the processes and factors in the ascription of status, with relatively little attention to the ways in which status may be achieved. Yet in a mobile and fluid society, it is the achieved statuses and the devices by which they are obtained that become important. The purpose of this article is to present a conception of marriage as a status-achieving device, with the further insistence that such a concept is of value for an understanding of marriage and its problems as well as of the status system of our society.

Perhaps the clearest illustration of the status possibilities of marriage is to be found in those marriages which are obviously of the status-raising kind. Innumerable heroines of humbler status who have married the prince dot the literature of the past. In more contemporary times, the show girl who marries the banana king's heir or the screen star who invades the social four hundred is of the same kind. In fact, success in the artist world is one of the most promising short cuts which are open, especially to women who wish to consummate status-raising marriages.

* For ideas included in this article, I am indebted to Mrs. Marjorie Chavenelle, of the staff of the William T. Carter Foundation.

Particularly has this been true since the 1920's, when fortunes have come to be amassed and popular favor has been won, not so much by persons who developed our natural resources as by those who have entertained us. Witness the creation of Cafe Society, that peculiar form of the so-called elite in which the higher your status the less you have to do with cafes. Cafe Society has been defined as a mixture of producing artists, easy money, and old social names, with publicity as its foundation.¹

Again, the utilization of marriage as a status-raising device constitutes a distinctive phase of minority group relationships. Here, too, marriage is a short cut to escape from a lower status, to some extent for one's self and even more so for one's children. Direct evidence supporting this statement can be found in a recent study of Jewish-Gentile intermarriage in Chicago. Slotkin identified eight different types of persons among those intermarrying. Of these, at least two types, the rebellious and the marginal, are personality types whose intermarriage is apt to reflect the effort to raise status by marrying out of the minority group status. Slotkin definitely refers to this in his description of the marginal type. "Marginal people," he writes, "sometimes amalgamate with members of the dominant group in order to increase their own status or that of their offspring."² My own studies of nationality and nativity as factors in marriage selection confirm the basic importance of group distinctions, the summary table of 68,196 marriages in New York state in 1936 having all the precision of a status-rating time table.³ Marriage is life's most intimate relationship, and acceptance on this basis by a group of higher social prestige is the essence of

¹ "Cafe Society," *Fortune Magazine*, New York, December, 1937, p. 127 ff.

² J. S. Slotkin, "Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage in Chicago," *The Sociological Review*, February, 1942, p. 38.

³ "Nationality and Nativity as Factors in Marriage," *The Sociological Review*, December, 1939, p. 796.

status achievement. Similar in implication are Whyte's studies of Italian attitudes on the sex code.

In the social and ethnic group category, the most desirable woman for non-marital sex relations is the girl of old American-stock background, preferably blonde, who has a higher status than the corner-boy.⁴

Crises, either societal or personal, tend to account for another type of status-raising marriages. As an illustration of the first instance were many depression marriages. Studies of depression and predepression marriage rates in Philadelphia revealed that, although the marriage rate for Philadelphia as a whole fell during the depression years, it actually rose among certain groups and in certain areas of the city. This rise occurred primarily in the lowest income groups, and in the areas where the lowest planes of living prevailed. The interpretation advanced is that in this socioeconomic class and type area it is marriage, rather than any given plane of living, that is the status-conferring condition. This would be particularly true of those elements whose religious traditions and teachings emphasize marriage as a form of life completion.⁵

An instance of the role of personal crises can be found in the men who are pulled precipitantly from civilian life and placed in the rank of privates in a huge military organization. For many men this involves, among other things, a sudden change in status. As privates in the army, they are the underdogs. They take orders and are directed hither and yon. They do menial work. They falter in the learning of a new occupation. Whatever else happens in a confused and frustrating world, one can at least get married. The civilian job may be gone, the sergeant may be low, life may be hard and its margins may be narrow, but

⁴ William Foote Whyte, "A Slum Sex Code," *American Journal of Sociology*, Chicago, July, 1943, p. 28.

⁵ Bossard, "Depression and Pre-depression Marriage Rates: A Philadelphia Study," *The Sociological Review*, October, 1937, p. 695.

there is one place where every man may be a king. You can have your own family. At least the little woman will look up to you. You can regain your sense of status by getting married. Thus conceived for their compensatory status-achieving results, many wartime marriages become intelligible, perhaps for the first time.

While these more spectacular instances serve as illustrations of the status-raising implications of marriage, we are concerned here primarily with marriage as a status-achieving device in terms of social process. There follow herewith six aspects of its operation in our status system.

1. To marry is to gain status in your family. "Emma is now married." "John has a family of his own." These are sentences that carry a world of meaning in most families, the weight of that world varying on the basis of family and group values and traditions. Over against these positive expressions are the implications in such thinly veiled questions as: "Doesn't Helen have a boy friend? How old is she getting to be?" "Isn't John thinking of getting a wife?" Who has not sensed the uncertainty and even anxiety in many families when the children pass a given year and remain unmarried? Who has not seen the problem of the "thirtyish" unmarried son or daughter and the family machinations, subtle and less so, to help them meet effective matrimonial temptation? Somehow the status of the whole family seems to be at stake. To all such, marriage is the answer. No more hints from relatives; no more prods from parents: the thing is done. The newly married have gained the same status as the manipulator and the prodder.

2. To marry is to gain status in your job or profession. We prefer the doctor who is married. Certain fields of specialized medical practice would not be considered proper for bachelor physicians, unless perhaps in the impersonal setting of a very large city. The preacher needs

to take a wife. In fact, the appointment or selection of young pastors may be contingent, in many communities, upon their approaching marriage. The wisdom of a married professor is more mature. In sociology, for example, it is now opportune for him to give certain courses. A married case worker, many board members will think, has more insight into family problems. When you are a "Mrs.," you can work more appropriately with children, or be a counselor, or do personnel work, because now you *understand*. Being married, you are more deserving of promotion. You are a more responsible employee. You are supposed to be more settled in your habits. You can be used more appropriately in supervisory and administrative jobs.

3. To marry is to gain status in the community. A community is, from one point of view, a confederation of families. This is perhaps most true in suburban and rural communities, and least so in the transitory neighborhoods of large cities. To marry is to be admitted to this confederation. As a husband, you have given a token of stability and intent. As a wife, you are eligible now for admission into various groups of women in the community and can share their communal interests. You have a home, and a husband. Parenthood is now in order for both husband and wife or is already here: they have a stake in the community. Often home ownership comes to reinforce the existing status. One is now a married person—of substance.

4. Marriage confers status within the circle of one's friends. Almost immediately after marriage, verbal references to this change of status appear. "Oh, he's married now." "He is a married man." "Yes, she's been married since last summer." "You see, I'm married now and don't date anymore." "He's been hooked." Whether the superficial implication is one of prestige, regret, pride, or condolence, the basic meaning of all such remarks is that of the achievement of a new status.

Marriage is, to many of one's unmarried friends, the answer to all problems, the status which changes the viewpoint toward all things. The sophistication of the married state is appealing. Then, too, the aureole of parenthood has come, or looms. Whatever one's trials or worries, marriage tends to be regarded as the solution. Says an epileptic:

Saturday I was going to call on some friends and felt it coming on. The doctor said I should sit down, but you hate to sit down on the street. And I fell. A lady was passing by. She stopped and helped me, and when I came around they drove me home. There are a lot of nice people in this world. I want to tell you one thing—but I see you are. I was going to say: For God's sake, get married.⁶

To one's married friends, marriage is the common password. You are one of us now. Welcome into the fraternity. Now you can be told. Now we can talk freely to you. "We're all married here." You understand our problems and interests. It is no longer necessary to temper conversation to the unmarried lamb. When invited out socially, it is no longer necessary to worry about a willing and acceptable partner. You are now a reliable "twosome" for social purposes.

5. Marriage affects financial or economic status. To marry with an eye to financial security is, of course, an age-old practice. Security is but another name for status. Once this motive was attributed chiefly to women. This sex preponderance was natural at a time when women had no economic opportunities save as they were attached to family units. Today, with increasing employment opportunities outside the home open to women, this motive in their marriages may be less operative, but it still remains of considerable importance. The complement of its declining importance for women may be its increasing role

⁶ From the files of the William T. Carter Foundation, University of Pennsylvania.

with men. A working wife is an asset. It means two wage earners in the family. Furthermore, there is the security which inheres in the possibility of a working wife, even if she is not now employed. During the depression this two-fold reliance proved a savior for many families.

6. Marriage gives a new status in regard to the problems of life. If it be argued at once that marriage does not solve problems but often increases and complicates them, there still remains the fact of a new orientation toward them. To keep this in mind enables one at times to assess the complaints of wives and husbands, and even parents, at their true worth. For many wives, complaint of their husbands is but disguised boasting. "My husband neglects me," she says. The general and superficial interpretation of this is to underscore the word *neglects*. Actually, the words that should be emphasized are *my husband*. The inexperienced (and unmarried?) case worker is apt to lose sight of this fact. Actually the complaint is an unconscious compensatory declaration of status, half in tears and half in pride. She *is* neglected, but it is by *her husband*, not by an uncertain boy friend. Surgical operations and husbands are the twin satisfactions of many women, albeit both of a certain incisive nature. Similarly, the girl who is constantly threatening to leave her husband is often close kin to the butler who is always giving notice—neither has any intention of doing so. Or, the deserted wife who is always "taking back" her husband, who stays up most of the night to wash and iron his shirt so that he may look well when he appears in court the next morning on a charge of desertion and nonsupport, is but reasserting her status as a wife. Nor should these illustrations be selected wholly from one sex. The husband who refers to his "ball and chain" is often but calling spectacular attention to his blonde wife, whom he is proud enough to own. The man who cannot "get out" at night because of his jealous wife is boasting more often

than not of *his* attractiveness rather than of *her* jealousy. Most parents, I am convinced after years of observation, who complain habitually about their children do so, at least in some measure, to call attention to themselves as parents.

The motives that lead to marriage are many and varied. They are not usually given adequate consideration in the study of marriage. In any realistic approach to the family, however, marriage must be recognized as a status-achieving device. Recognition of this fact makes for a better understanding of marital relationships and family problems. Marriage, to be sure, has always been utilized as a status-achieving device, but its importance as such clearly is greater in a society where status changes occur with great frequency and status-achieving devices are at a marked premium. In fact, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the status-achieving value of marriage is one of the reasons for the relatively high percentage of the American population, ten years of age and over, that is or has been married. It seems equally obvious that the relative ease and popular acceptance of divorce increase the use of marriage as a status-achieving device. One can marry, achieve the status, and then make further arrangements. At least, one has been married.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS AS MENTAL HOSPITAL ATTENDANTS

LOWELL E. MAECHTLE and H. H. GERTH
University of Wisconsin

● The behavior of minority groups in wartime and their relations with majority groups afford the sociologist a fruitful field of investigation. One such group is composed of men who under Selective Service provisions are classified as "conscientious objectors." Pursuing what may be called an "absolute ethic," their "way of life" comes to attention because of its marked difference from prevailing standards. This is particularly true for those C.O.'s who work as mental hospital attendants, in which activity they associate freely with persons and groups of different viewpoints.

The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 makes special provision for persons who on grounds of religious training and belief object to military service. Those who are objectors only to combatant service enter the army in some noncombatant capacity. Those who object to all types of military service are assigned to "work of national importance under civilian direction." This regulation was welcomed by most pacifists as clearly an advancement in comparison with the provision for C.O.'s in World War I. At that time, only persons of religious groups whose official position was pacifist were exempt from military service.

The Selective Service Act delegated to the President the power to make provision for C.O.'s. He accordingly issued an executive order on February 6, 1941, which designated the director of Selective Service to determine the nature of "work of national importance under civilian direction," to make the assignments to such work, and to

select the civilian agencies that were to operate the program and the governmental agencies in conjunction with which the work of national importance was to be rendered.

Civilian public service. It was thus under the direction of Dr. Clarence Dykstra and Gen. Lewis B. Hershey that the Civilian Public Service program for conscientious objectors was set up. It was to be administered by the three historic peace churches,¹ operating directly with Selective Service officials as well as through the National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO), which was set up in Washington as a joint project of many interested religious groups to clear with Selective Service the legal and administrative problems pertaining to C.O.'s. Civilian Public Service Camps were established typically in places where CCC projects had earlier been under way. The equipment and facilities of these projects were usually continued in use.

These CPS or "base" camps are engaged in work under the technical supervision of agents of the U.S. Forestry Service, the Soil Conservation Service, the National Park Service, the Bureau of Reclamation, the General Land Office, and the Farm Security Administration. While in these camps the C.O.'s are required to work without pay. In addition, they need to provide, or have provided for them, \$35 a month to cover the cost of their own maintenance.² Arrangements, however, have been made also for so-called detached service on special projects most of which offer maintenance. A C.O. may be assigned to a special project only after he has spent at least 90 days in a

¹ By the "historic peace churches" is usually meant the Society of Friends or Quakers, The Church of the Brethren, and the various Mennonite sects. Shortly after the inauguration of the CPS program the Association of Catholic Conscientious Objectors was organized, which administered a camp primarily for Catholic men. A hospital unit has also been under the administration of the Methodist Commission on World Peace.

² If an assignee cannot provide the \$35 from his own or family resources, his denomination is requested to give financial assistance. Failing that, the historic peace churches have thus far carried the additional load.

base camp. This may be thought of as analogous to the basic training period in army camps. About half the men now on special projects are working as attendants in mental hospitals. It is with these projects that we are specifically concerned. They are designated as "detached service units"; that is, the men are detached from their base camps.

There was a total of 6,794 men in the Civilian Public Service program on February 1, 1944.³ Of these, 3,948 were serving in base camps and 2,846 were working on special projects. About one fifth of all the men in Civilian Public Service (1,358) were serving as mental hospital attendants on February 1, 1944. There were 37 such mental hospital units in operation on that date. They are found most frequently in the eastern states and through parts of the Midwest, only 5 being located west of the Mississippi River. The customary number of C.O.'s assigned to such a unit is between 25 and 35 men. Some units, however, run as high as 75 to 100 men. The following table lists the units and their personnel according to denominational sponsorship as of December 1, 1943.

<i>Denominational Agency</i>	<i>Number of Units</i>	<i>Number of Men Assigned⁴</i>
Mennonite Central Committee	18	547
Brethren Service Committee.....	11	338
American Friends Service Committee.....	7	253
Methodist Church Peace Commission.....	1	28
	<hr/> 37	<hr/> 1,166

At first pacifists seemed satisfied with the comparatively liberal provisions of the draft law, and under the circumstances the first C.O.'s assigned to camps left

³ "Statistics," *The Reporter*, Vol. II, No. 16, pp. 2-3, February 15, 1944.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 12, p. 4, December 15, 1943. A comparison of statistics on CPS for December 1, 1943, and February 1, 1944, indicates that assignments to mental hospital work are increasing rapidly.

civilian life without serious dissatisfaction or objection. This stage of early satisfaction with the CPS administrative measures and camp structure we might term the "honeymoon" period. C.O.'s accepted their year of service as a genuine test of their faith and sincerity. Many greeted the new camp experiences as an adventure, a welcome release from their previous occupational routines and everyday drudgery. They soon discovered, however, that camp life meant also segregation and even confinement in a sense. The feeling grew among them that they had been successfully isolated and removed from the main stream of current life and set apart from work which they regarded as more in accord with "national importance." Some failed to adjust to these changed conditions. Dissatisfaction and disgruntlement set in and spread. The honeymoon period gave way to the period of "grousing" and grumbling. Several reasons for the change are obvious. These include the entrance of the United States into the war, the extension of the period of service to cover the "duration," the increasing debt burden which C.O.'s have to shoulder in order to provide for their own maintenance in camp, and the afore-mentioned change in attitude toward the significance of their work. The opinion spread that there were more urgent human needs to be met than the quest for improved soil, reforestation, et cetera. Some C.O.'s desire service opportunities which will more nearly approximate their own definitions of "work of national importance." It is in this connection that mental hospital units of C.O.'s on detached service were suggested.

Mental hospital units—an experiment in public relations. The first successful plan for a CPS unit in a mental hospital was approved on June 10, 1942, and by August 1 eighteen men were working. This was in the Eastern State Hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia. Since

that time the number of hospitals seeking C.O. help has increased steadily. Even though initial tensions prior to the actual establishment of units were thus favorably resolved, other conflict situations arose later when the units were in actual operation. To these we will give extended attention at a later point.

The selection of men for mental hospital work. The actual assignment of men to mental hospital units is made cooperatively by the hospital staff, the base camp staff, and the denominational agency administering the camp and the proposed unit.⁵ While details vary slightly from one denominational agency to another, the practice of each assumes a pattern characteristic to all. Only volunteers from the base camps are considered, and Selective Service regulations require that men must have been in camp for at least 90 days, that the special project to which men are assigned be located over 100 miles from their homes, and that they must have made a satisfactory adjustment to camp life. The selection of men is usually made on the basis of records and recommendations filed with the denominational agency by the base camps. These records are prepared on the findings of camp directors and in some instances by committees of campers. Sometimes an agency representative is able personally to interview applicants in their base camps, and occasionally the same has been possible for hospital superintendents. When a hospital requests a unit of C.O.'s or replacements and additions to a unit already established, the denominational agency forwards its records and recommendations to the hospital staff, and usually the final decision in the acceptance or rejection of a man is made by the superintendent. In the event a man proves to be unsatisfactory in his work,

⁵ Information on the selection of mental hospital workers was secured in correspondence with J. N. Byler, Director of Hospital Units for the Mennonite Central Committee, J. H. Westover of the American Friends Service Committee, and W. M. Hammond, Jr., of the Brethren Service Committee.

he is returned to his base camp, usually at the suggestion of the hospital superintendent. In such situations the camp directors and denominational agencies comply with the decision of the superintendent if for no other reason than to avoid unfavorable publicity.

The American Friends Service Committee reports that it attempts to secure a cross section of CPS personnel for hospital service so that the quality of work done in camp will not suffer from the loss of the best men. The Mennonite Central Committee, on the other hand, needs to select its better trained and educated CPS men because the educational level of men in Mennonite camps is much lower than in the others.⁶

One of the supposedly more capable assignees is put in charge of the hospital unit and is designated as assistant director. He has usually been trained in a short-course school supported by the denominational agencies. It is his responsibility to serve as liaison officer between the hospital staff, the denominational agency, the base camps, and Selective Service in the interest of the C.O.'s composing the unit. He also keeps unit records and plans for the educational, vocational, and recreational needs of the unit members.

Conflict situations. The mere establishment of units in hospitals does not mean the end of all tensions. After such establishment conflicts may threaten within the hospitals between the C.O. attendants and the regular staff members. These we might term intrainstitutional conflicts. The opposition of community groups also manifests itself in

⁶ One C.O. hospital attendant reports that in his opinion hospital superintendents demonstrate marked preference for married C.O.'s. This is because they believe they will then be able to secure not one worker but two, since the C.O.'s wife usually accompanies her husband if she can. If she wishes employment at the hospital, she works on the women's wards, receiving regular salary, and is allowed to live with her husband if accommodations are available. Byler of the MCC estimates that 25 per cent of the C.O.'s assigned to mental hospitals are married and have their wives working with them.

some cases. Conflicts in this latter context we can term extrainstitutional, but data on this point are omitted because of lack of space.

Intrainstitutional conflicts, when they do develop, are usually occasioned by suspicion on the part of hospital attendants toward the C.O.'s. Besides the general suspicion of C.O.'s in wartime in the case of hospital attendants, there is the additional fear on the part of some for their job security. The C.O. in their eyes is an unwelcome competitor. Even though there is a great shortage of workers in this field (as we shall later demonstrate), the regular attendants look askance at the C.O.'s because they are taking over jobs which were formerly held by their fellow workers. Furthermore, C.O.'s are required to work at very low wages—ranging from \$2.50 to \$15 a month plus maintenance.

Some regular hospital employees come to depreciate their work and the status it provides them when it becomes known that C.O.'s are to engage in similar activities. Rather than to lower their self-regard, they prefer to quit their jobs. Some of those who object to the arrival of C.O.'s, but do not quit, still refuse to wear their uniforms when these symbols of their status and role are worn also by the C.O.'s. It may be presumed that the economic factor also is important in this situation. The C.O.'s come willingly to do a disagreeable job for which they receive at the most only \$15 a month plus maintenance. In the minds of regular employees work which provides such meager returns cannot be very significant.

Adjustment of differences comes slowly, and traces of contravention and covert antipathy still remain. Progress is marked in terms of improved co-worker relationships and the establishment of the usual social conventionalities. The change is occasioned by the more tolerant attitude of some regular employees who thus influence those who

have been antipathetic and by the development of professional skills on the part of the C.O.'s, who then increasingly take the expected roles of hospital attendants.

The resolution of conflict. The conflict situations that arise in connection with the employment of C.O.'s in mental hospitals have been resolved successfully in most instances for one major reason—that mental hospitals all over the country have been particularly hard pressed by the current manpower shortage. In itself the work of an attendant is not an attractive one and so initially draws a less desirable sort of employee.

While mental hospitals are experiencing such manpower shortages, it is only natural that hospital superintendents and administrators will not be so ready to disapprove of C.O.'s working with mental patients as will the regular attendants and certain interested community organizations. Major Robert A. Bier, a Selective Service Medical Officer, makes the following statement after visits to hospitals employing C.O.'s.

While I hold no particular brief for men who conscientiously object to war, yet I cannot help but be impressed by the spirit of cooperation and by the devotion to duty of these men in surroundings and work which are other than pleasant and congenial. Were I forced to decide between working as an attendant in an insane hospital and going to war, I would unquestionably select the latter.⁷

Mary E. Corcoran of the U.S. Public Health Service and a special representative to the CPS hospital units notes the work of the C.O.'s in a favorable light.

The patients in many mental hospitals are receiving very considerate care given by religious objectors. These men are assigned to these hospitals to replace personnel who are in the service or working elsewhere. The majority of the men I have seen on the wards of the twelve state hospitals I have visited are doing well by their patients. In some cases they present very good examples in personal behavior to the other employees.⁸

⁷ "Quote," *The Reporter*, Vol. II, No. 7, p. 6, October 1, 1943.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

The preference of C.O.'s for work in mental hospitals rather than in camps may be partially explained by their more favorable financial circumstances in the hospital units where maintenance costs are provided, whereas in the base camps such costs need to be met by the camper. It cannot be denied that the prospect of escaping the heavy financial burden placed upon men in camp is sufficiently strong to induce many to accept almost any kind of special project work for which they are selected. Most C.O.'s, however, rather emphasize the position that their mental hospital experience is an opportunity to test their pacifism in practice and to demonstrate to themselves and to others the sincerity and practicality of their beliefs in nonresistance and nonviolent coercion. Such attitudes are evident from the following comments.

The worst thing that could happen to me now would be for me to be sent back to camp. After working in the hospital I could never be satisfied with the type of work one has to do in camp . . . This work is the greatest opportunity that has yet been offered C.O.'s.⁹

After having worked here for two months, I am convinced that this work is more the thing we should be doing. Perhaps I should confine this to an expression of my own attitudes but here we have a chance to work directly with and for people, which I certainly missed in the forestry camp. The work situation demands certain things of a person. The "absolutist" need not come because force is used in some situations if for no more than to separate the patients when they get into a fight.¹⁰

The work itself is challenging from an unexpected angle: the use of force versus love in the restraint of violent patients who are mentally unbalanced. It took seven of us two hours the other night to subdue a new man who had decided to leave us via a third-story window which he had forced. We had him on the floor in thirty seconds, and spent the rest of the time undressing him, and getting him into a wet sheet pack, in the course of which one got a black eye and I got bit in the hand. It all seemed necessary for the good of the patient and of society, and was done

⁹ "Public Relations," *ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁰ "Mental Hospitals," *Camp Walhalla News*, Vol. I, No. 10, p. 3, June, 1943.

only after three hours of trying to persuade him to settle down and go to bed, yet I could not help but ask myself, "How would Jesus have dealt with this man?" I fear we still have a long way to grow.¹¹

C.O. philosophy and the use of coercion. These statements by C.O.'s raise the question of the use of coercive methods in the handling of mentally disordered patients. C.O.'s differ markedly on the subject of how much restraint and coercion may be used without the compromise of their pacifist convictions. They range all the way from the absolutist, who is warned by one of the statements above not to come to a mental hospital because force is used in some situations, to the C.O. who believes in the use of forms of self-defense which, however, stop short of inflicting intentional physical injury on the offender. Lines of demarcation are not sharply defined on this range of pacifist conviction, but some important distinctions may be noted nevertheless.

Officially the Mennonite C.O.'s take the position of nonresistance, basing their convictions on the biblical injunction to "resist not evil." Yet most of them when confronted with the practical circumstances of an attendant's duties in a violent ward need to rationalize that position somewhat. They recognize that they need to use some form of restraint and coercion in handling mental patients—such as forcibly undressing a man who has a mania for clothing, dressing another who has a "nakedness" mania, sitting on a man while he is being shaved or medically treated, or subduing another whose violent behavior endangers his own life and the lives of other patients. It appears clear, however, from the above quotations that not all attendants can do this with an easy conscience. They still search for methods which will not call for a compromise with their basic convictions.

It is perhaps fair to state that either practically or theoretically nearly all C.O.'s working as attendants come

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

eventually to the position which may be termed nonviolent coercion. They recognize that every act or failure to act is, after all, a form of coercion and that there can be few satisfactory distinctions drawn between physical and psychological coercion. They recognize the necessity of using methods of restraint and force for the patient's own welfare and for their self-protection, but they will not countenance the use of violent methods which intentionally and deliberately inflict injury on the patients. Therefore, they seek to use only nonviolent forms of coercion. Theoretically most Mennonites would probably disagree with this position, but practically they are found sustaining it. The situation in mental hospitals drives them beyond the logic of their basic theoretical position of nonresistance.¹²

As inferred above, no C.O.'s in theory believe in the intentional infliction of injury upon a patient (or anyone); yet few of them are likely to believe they can predict accurately their reaction to a personal attack. They are not prepared to state at just what point resistance and retaliation, if any, will take place, or just what forms it will assume; much will depend on the actual situation. The use of violence by C.O.'s in the restraint of patients has not been unknown,¹³ but perhaps more frequent have been such occasions as the following in which the pacifist techniques of nonresistance and nonretaliation have truly been in common accord with the best psychiatric practices known.

Of course it takes a firm belief in what you are trying to do. More than that, it takes high courage. A man from Buck Creek (a base camp) had his cheek bone broken by a patient in the violent ward. Yet he asked for the same detail as soon as he got out of the infirmary.

¹² The book, *Non-Violent Coercion*, by Clarence Marsh Case gives the best account of the fine distinctions in C.O. philosophy. The reader is referred to this sociological study of C.O.'s in the first World War.

¹³ "Public Relations," *The Reporter*, Vol. II, No. 7, p. 6, October 1, 1943.

Another case is described by Bob B——, of the Philadelphia Hospital where one of the CPS attendants one night was felled by a beautiful looping right smash to the jaw while trying to put a violent patient to bed. The attendant got up and continued to put the man to bed as if nothing had happened. He hasn't had any trouble with him since.¹⁴

Frank Olmstead, a field secretary for the War Register's League, not himself assigned to a hospital unit, volunteered to work in several mental hospitals as an attendant in order to discover the nature of the work and hopeful of finding out whether or not pacifists in such activity had a unique contribution to make to psychiatric treatment. He comes to this conclusion:

One thing I wanted to find out was whether a conscientious objector, through his methods of non-violent good will, has something to contribute to the mental hospitals. In theory I am convinced that the answer is No. Every psychiatrist with whom I talked believed in and practiced non-violence. But practically the C.O.'s may prove to be a revolutionary factor in these institutions.¹⁵

This realistic effort of putting into practice the theory already prevailing in psychiatric circles is probably the greatest contribution that C.O.'s make to psychiatric treatment.

Olmstead believes that C.O.'s seem to meet situations differently from most other attendants, and that in this fact lies their success as attendants. They are perhaps just as fearful of the patient's possible violence, but they go to greater lengths not to reveal that they are fearful, and they are not so ready to resort to violence because they sense that a burden of proof rests upon them as pacifists which can be vindicated only in the effective way they deal with patients.

One objector assigned to the violent ward refused to take the broomstick offered by the Charge. When he entered the ward the patients crowded around asking, "Where is your broomstick?" He said he thought he

¹⁴ "Detached Service," *Peace Sentinel*, Vol. II, No. 14, p. 6, January 15, 1943.

¹⁵ Frank Olmstead, "They Asked for a Hard Job," *Fellowship*, Vol. II, No. 11, p. 193, November, 1943.

would not need it. "But suppose some of us gang up on you?" The C.O. guessed they wouldn't do that and started talking about other things. Within two or three days the patients were seen gathered around the unarmed attendant, telling him their troubles. He felt much safer than the Charge who had only his broomstick for company.¹⁶

Olmstead reports that in dealing with a "big husky who constantly threatened to kill people" a non-C.O. attendant had, after repeated terrifying threats, resorted to the use of violence in order to induce the man to prepare for bed. Olmstead went out of his way to cultivate the friendship of this patient and after two days was able to get the man to retire quietly in five minutes without violence or disturbance, whereas the efforts of the non-C.O. attendant had required a half hour and longer.¹⁷

In another connection, Olmstead suggests that an effective orientation course would be of great help to new attendants to aid them in "shaking off the fear that usually results in brutality." He argues that most attendants are simply afraid of their patients and try to meet a situation fraught with fear by resorting to violence before the patients do.¹⁸

Conclusion. Viewed from another standpoint, this entire subject of the use of C.O.'s as attendants in mental hospitals may be seen as the operation of democracy in wartime with the associated factors of minority group treatment, and strong public tensions, antipathies, and conflicts. In this context we have tried to trace the course of a group of men who seek to abide by the "absolute ethic" of pacifism and nonviolence.

We have surveyed the process in its various phases. While assigned to work camps, the C.O.'s at first seemed satisfied and enthusiastic about their work, but soon their

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

¹⁸ These comments by Olmstead indicate an understanding of behavior more fully treated in such books as Dollard's *Frustration and Aggression* and Bover's *The Fighting Instinct*, where the suggestion that fear is the basis of aggression—violent and otherwise—is fully treated.

attitude changed. When prolonged encampment became financially embarrassing, dissatisfaction grew rapidly. This was expressed in several ways, one of which was to seek work of supposedly greater "national importance," which would make the financial demands found in base camps less severe. The suggestion of work in mental hospitals was at first frowned upon by local citizens, especially by organized labor and patriotic groups. After the successful establishment of the units, conflict situations developed on the one hand within the hospital between the old staff members and the new workers, and on the other hand between the C.O.'s and the community residents. The present trend is definitely toward the resolution of these conflicts particularly because of the unusually great need for workers in hospitals, the effective work of the C.O.'s in accord with their conscientious scruples, and the encouragement of hospital superintendents and administrators.

REASONS FOR AND AGAINST WAR MARRIAGE*

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● On every hand, in newspaper and magazine, on radio and screen, one hears and sees discussion of the problem "to marry now or not to marry now." Careful reading and listening by a group of students in a class on personality adjustment convinced the group that much of the discussion was fragmentary and sheer conjecture. Consequently, they decided to carry the ball to young people themselves and find how they were thinking about the matter. Instead of a hit-and-miss procedure, it was decided to "select" young people of comparable ages from various walks of life. Because of limitations of time, money, and personnel our results are not claimed as "validated" or completely "reliable," as statisticians would put it. We do, however, have reason to believe that they are highly "indicative," which is after all, perhaps, as much as one may expect for a study of opinion.

Sample and procedures. Our sample included 105 college students who were passing through sociology courses, 100 business young men and women, and a smaller group of 50 women defense workers. In the college group, 65 were women and 40 men. All were College of Education students. In the business group, 58 were women and 42 men. All of the latter group were clerks, stenographers, and bookkeepers who had gone directly to work from high school or following short training courses. In the defense group, all were women, owing to our inability to find sizable numbers of men of comparable ages. It should be

* Students who assisted in the study included Mrs. Gloria Strickling, Ernestine Althoff, Jane Ferguson, Mary Zirkle, and Bernice Goldman.

mentioned here that all college men were enlisted reserves and with 8 exceptions business men were 4-F. All participants were between the ages of 18 and 25 years.

Before setting up and administering our "Opinionnaire," 50 students and 50 business people were asked to write short papers on why they were or were not in favor of war marriages. As we read and abstracted these, it was found possible to recognize 10 main reasons for and 9 main reasons against the issue. These items were arranged in order and presented to the sample described above. Results were compared on the bases of occupational and sex differences of opinion.

For purposes of reference later in the discussion the questionnaire form is presented below:

OPINIONNAIRE CONCERNING WAR MARRIAGES

Below are listed the opinions most frequently listed by 50 O.S.U. students and 50 business people as reasons why they are in favor or are not in favor of war marriages. If you approve of the war marriage, write in any additional reasons and rate the group as to relative importance. Place the number 1 before the reason you consider of greatest importance, the number 2 before the reason of next importance, and so on, until you have rated all reasons in the list. If you disapprove, proceed in exactly the same way. *Rate only one set of opinions.*

(By war marriage we mean one in which the husband will be absent from his wife because of service in the armed forces.)

I. Background data: (1) sex.....; (2) age.....; (3) occupation:
(a) student....., (b) business person....., (c) defense
worker.....

II. I favor wartime marriage because:

- 1. Will at least have "memories."
- 2. Take happiness while you can.
- 3. Want a child.
- 4. "Rather be a widow than an old maid."
- 5. Married people work better in war effort—men as soldiers, women as civilian workers.
- 6. Children conceived before men go to war will be more physically fit.

- 7. Financial security (government payments, insurance).
- 8. It is insurance against hasty (often foreign) marriages.
- 9. It is insurance against promiscuity.
- 10. It is a patriotic duty to marry and have children.

Others.....

III. I am *not* in favor of war marriages because:

- 1. Fear possible physical disability.
- 2. Would not want possible pregnancy.
- 3. A possible child would hamper future marriage chances.
- 4. It would be unfair to a possible child.
- 5. Limits one's social contacts.
- 6. Each may change so much as to make future adjustment difficult or impossible.
- 7. Might find it was only infatuation.
- 8. Possible financial problems, as dependency.
- 9. A husband is more apprehensive; less likely to take chances in battle.

Others.....

Favorable opinions by occupation and sex. It is interesting to note, first, that approximately 68 per cent of the entire sample was in favor of war marriage; 75 per cent of the students were in favor; 70 per cent of the business people and 80 per cent of the defense workers.

Viewed from the standpoint of the sex differential, 71 per cent of the women students approved and 40 per cent of the men; 62 per cent of the business women and 60 per cent of the men; while 67 per cent of the women defense workers were for taking the fatal step. One need hardly point out to the careful reader that men seem much more reluctant than women to accept ties *in absentia*.

Among students as a group, reason 1, "will at least have memories," tied for first and second with 2, "take happiness while you can." Number 5, "married people work better in the war effort," placed third; and 9, "it's insurance against promiscuity," rated fourth.

Noncollege people, including both business and defense workers, varied only that they definitely listed item 2 as

first, item 1 as second, and item 5 as third. Item 4, "rather be a widow than an old maid," scored a close fourth reason for women.

TABLE I

RANK ORDER OF ITEMS FAVORABLE TO WAR MARRIAGE AS EXPRESSED BY STUDENTS, BUSINESS PEOPLE, AND DEFENSE WORKERS

Item	Students		Business		Defense
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Women
1	2	1	1	2	2
2	1	2	2	1	1
3	5	5	5	5	5
4	7	9	3	4	4
5	3	4	7	9	7
6	6	3	6	7	8
7	9	8	10	6	9
8	10	10	9	10	6
9	8	6	8	3	10
10	4	7	4	8	3

Since girls were in the majority, we may look more closely at differences between groups. College women were far more inclined to believe that marriage would ensure against promiscuity than any other group. Office workers were next with defense women as a distant third. Is this a mirroring of socioeconomic class differences in general, or is it just that women of the work-a-day world see the problem from a more realistic, less sheltered, and more mature viewpoint?

In a number of instances we followed up by interviewing on unexpected or especially interesting points. In this connection, the view of the college girl is fairly well presented by Emily, a senior in the College of Education:

Marriage gives the boy a sense of ownership and belonging. He has a definite place and someone to go to on leave. He has a sweet memory to think about and carry with him to the front. When he remembers and plans for the future, surely he will have no heart for shoddy though immediate pleasures.

The viewpoints of the business and defense woman worker are perhaps as well phrased by the girl, Mary, who said,

I'm skeptical, Doctor, and I've reason to be. No ceremony is enough to stop 'em steppin out. Don't I see it every day and night? What ails these college girls is, they've got their heads in the clouds. And why? Look at what the soldiers and sailors on the campus do all the time. The only difference is they don't tell co-eds they're married and they can't seem to tell like we can.

It should be said that neither reply is claimed as "typical" of a group but only "indicative" of the way answers ran on the basis of occupation.

Other differences, which might be of interest, were the attitudes toward financial security for the girl which would be provided by government payments, insurance, and the like. College girls appeared oblivious to such security by placing it tenth on their list. Business girls placed it in sixth place and defense workers placed it as fifth. When interviewed, college girls were often shocked, sometimes angry, that such an item should even be taken seriously. In each of the three classes where the study was discussed, it was significant to note the audible "oh-ing and ah-ing" which ran through the room. The other groups stood together, merely shrugging their shoulders and remarking to the effect that of course they would be marrying for love not money as such, but one must think of one's living. As Sheila, a riveter, observed: "It's all right for those who can go home to mother, but what if there's a baby? I'm on my own. My folks couldn't help and Bob's [her fiance] wouldn't, so I've *got* to be practical."

In line with this thought, it is instructive to note that "wanting a child" was checked much more readily by college girls than by others. The item attained sixth rank for the co-eds, ninth for business women, and tenth for defense women. When one remembers the counterbeliefs

and policies in other nations, it is worthy of attention that no group was concerned with any "patriotic duty" for furthering the race. It would appear that the doctrine of the wishes and personal rights of the individual as supreme ones are all these young people consider.

And now what of the men? A study of their side of the ledger reveals some absorbing differences of opinion. It must be remembered that we are now reporting on replies from college men, enlisted reserves, and office workers. We were not able to obtain similar numbers for unmarried men in defense. All office workers were 4-F or still around because they were convincing draft boards as yet that they were "essential."

Likewise, it is important to remember that only one third of the male students replying were in favor and approximately one half of the business workers favored war marriages as defined here. For the small group of college men who were in favor, the first three choices were in order: item 2, "take happiness while you can"; item 1, "will at least have memories"; and item 5, "married people work better, etc." Office workers varied only in placing item 1 first, item 2 second, and item 5 third. Neither group considered marriage as much insurance against promiscuity, placing it seventh (students) and eighth (office men).

Both groups were about equally insensitive to any patriotic duty in producing children, rating the item eighth and seventh, respectively. Men office workers were slightly more concerned with establishing immortality through "leaving a child behind." This is interesting in view of the fact that this group is in no imminent danger of battle, whereas most of the group of reserve officers knew they were going by spring quarter.

Neither group seemed worried about the temptations of hasty marriages elsewhere. Perhaps they were thinking

that such a happening would constitute no liability. Or perhaps it was just as one petite co-ed observed: "ugh—male ego. What a tumble they're in for!"

Both groups placed about equal negative emphasis on the security for wives of their government's payments or their insurance. Could it be that the age level has something to do with this? Since neither group is considering leaving unborn children behind, are they thinking that a young, healthy wife can provide adequately in a time of many jobs, at least until their return? Perhaps it is, as sage Sadie said, that "It never gets to them that a lot of girls are snapping them up for just that 'security.' Every man seems to think he's a Red Skelton if a girl gives him a tumble."

When viewpoints of men and women are contrasted, it is significant that there is such close agreement on the first, second, and third choices. From then on there is a noticeably closer agreement of men with men and women with women.

A few viewpoints worth pointing out seem to derive their basis from our double standard evaluation of men's and women's behavior. For example, in our culture it is the custom for marriage partners to be the same age or, if there is a difference, the man is usually the older. As shown by interviews, girls were influenced by this to rate item 4, "rather be a widow than an old maid," higher in the rank order ratings. As two girls put it: "If we wait until men come back after this war lasts several years, they'll pass us up for younger women"; and "You know as well as we do that society has little place for an old maid but with a widow, it's different."

Are these two trying to say that the mores of our culture give role and status in terms of one's success on the basis of her ability to snare a man? And that being a widow at least leaves one a badge of earlier accomplishment? Or it may be as one defense worker put it:

You can depend on it. Men just go for widows, grass or sod better than for a chilly virgin. I've watched it work in the factory. Those gals have the chances. A friend of mine about 35 says, "It's always open season on divorcees," and I don't know why it would be any different if you were a sod widow.

Unfavorable opinions by occupations. The rank order of unfavorable opinions by occupation and sex are shown in Table II.

TABLE II
RANK ORDER OF ITEMS UNFAVORABLE TO WAR MARRIAGE AS
EXPRESSED BY STUDENTS, BUSINESS PEOPLE, AND
DEFENSE WORKERS

Item	Students		Business		Defense
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Women
1	1	6	1	1	1
2	6	7	7	6	7
3	7	1	6	7	6
4	8	2	8	8	8
5	2	4	5	2	3
6	4	9	2	3	2
7	5	5	4	4	5
8	9	3	9	5	4
9	3	8	3	9	9

It is worthy of repetition here to say that we are now viewing the opinions of the minority in each occupational group and for women. Men, it will be remembered, rated about even with women in the business group and heavily against for students.

The close consensus of agreement on which items rank first, second, and third is striking. In all cases, men and women are afraid of physical disabilities which may result from war, that they might find the affair only infatuation, and that the chance of change might make later adjustment difficult or impossible. The differences are only in terms of the rank importance each item bears to its group of raters.

College girls are least concerned with fear of physical disability, whereas it is the chief reason for all other women as well as men. When interviewed on this score, replies ran such as: "If you truly love each other, it will be a joy to care for one who has given so much." Or, "It might be unpleasant, but one does not shrink from her duty." Business and defense women replied frankly in terms of the economic problem. A few from all three groups were afraid that the psychological effects on the man would make it undesirable. Men generally agreed with the boy who felt strongly enough to say:

If I'm physically incapacitated, I hope it's curtains. How would I ever be sure that it wasn't just *pity* or *duty* instead of love? I want none of either and I'm convinced that even if it were love it could hardly stand the strain. It just isn't fair to either party.

On other items it is worth noting that there seem to be clusters of agreement. For example, items 8 and 2, "financial problems" and "would not want possible pregnancy," group around fourth, fifth, and sixth place. While no group was much concerned about limitation of "social contacts," business men seemed most concerned (fifth place as against seventh and eighth for all other groups). None appeared to agree with the view expressed by some of the military men that husbands would take less chances in battle. Remarks are well illustrated by the opinion of the defense worker who said: "It should keep him in there pitching *all* the time. Don't you remember the song . . . 'a voice within me whispered, this is worth fighting for'?"

On at least one item there was wide disagreement. Both defense and business women rated "a possible child would hamper future marriage chances" much higher in their list than any other group. Both groups of men were unconcerned about it. If we again compare the opinions of men and women, we find much the same pattern as before. Wherever the culture defines differently the duties and

prerogatives of men and women, this conditioning is shown in the results.

On the basis of these observations, one might generalize to the extent of saying that college women are more idealistic than other women; business men have a slight edge in conservative replies over college men; with the exception of women students, there is a noticeably matter-of-fact, realistic bent to interview replies. In some areas they are even challenging the staid rules in the group.

In the main, however, they are not hard, not dwellers in ivory towers, but just healthy, eager, vitally alive members of a younger generation determined as they put it, "to win this business" and "have a go at real living [via marriage] not because of war but in spite of it."

Finally, it is to be observed that a considerable majority of the young people of our study were favorable to war marriages. When their reasons pro and con are examined, there are noticeable differences on the basis of both occupation and sex. Though we were unable to deal with such further variables, it is probable that there would be further distinctions if one were to test on the basis of socioeconomic and religious backgrounds as well as community backgrounds. We suggest also that other varieties of opinion would be forthcoming if one could make a sampling of other colleges such as Engineering, Medicine, and Commerce and of other occupations.

In short, this is a report on the opinions of people who are in training to be teachers, and of young people who are in business and defense jobs as already indicated. Each group represents a cultural milieu which has set the stage and molded its children according to certain standards of judgment, social norms, and values. Although all have operated within a general cultural setting, each on the bases of its particular rules and statuses has emerged with some common patterns of opinion and as many specialized ones.

WHAT COOPERATIVES MEAN TO THE WORLD

A Summary

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● One of the greatest problems that men have faced for many centuries has been the concentration of capital in a few hands and, as a seeming consequence, poverty and misery among great masses. Since remote time men have been looking for a method that would solve this problem, but as yet they have been unsuccessful in achieving extensive success. The world of today still has its millions of poor people in contrast to the very few wealthy, and its economic causes of world wars.

With the industrial revolution and the more recent technological development, the economic and social conditions of the people have not been basically improved as might well have been the case. Many people, sincerely believing that a strong central government might provide the cure for the evils, encouraged the development of socialist and communist doctrines and, subsequently, fascist and nazi doctrines. At the beginning these ideologies had the enthusiastic support of many people, but a sad realization was inevitable. For doubtful benefits to be obtained through the new system they were required to give up a most precious heritage—individual freedom and political democracy.

In 1844 the Rochdale Cooperative Society was founded in England. Its pioneer members made a completely new application of the cooperative idea and devised the practical methods which at last brought success. And what a remarkable success it turned out to be. Soon after the humble beginnings, the cooperative idea began to shine with all the splendor of a summer's sun. It began to de-

velop with an impetuous force, and thousands of persons, including statesmen, sociologists, economists, and others, saw in that movement the substantial methods which would solve the economic enigma of the world.

Already by 1900 there were 18,000 cooperative societies in the great International Cooperative Alliance, encompassing 3,600,000 members. In 1934 the number of the cooperative societies had grown to 200,000 with a membership of 90,000,000. In 1939 there was a grand total of 250,000 cooperatives, in 39 countries, with 120,000,000 members.

The cooperative movement now formed in all the democratic-minded countries is offering and will offer to the world many basic advantages. Some of these may be summarized.

1. Through cooperative societies the consumers perform for themselves the function of the production and supply of economic goods and services which are otherwise performed by profit business, by the political state, by charity, or by the unaided individual. Among the economic functions rendered through cooperative societies of today are: the retail distribution of commodities, such as food, clothing, personal and household needs; the supplying of services, such as banking, insurance, recreation, education, news, transportation, communication, housing, health; marketing and trade operations of national and international scope; the manufacture, production, and warehousing of numerous useful commodities; the production and supply of raw materials, such as metals, coal, wood, grains, fruits, vegetables, meat, and milk, and so forth.

2. A fairer distribution of wealth among the people is needed. Actually, in many countries, the land is in the hands of a few. Land is the most precious wealth. In practically every country of the world there are laws prohibit-

ing slavery. However, thousands of peasants, living like slaves, work these lands for the benefit of their landlords. The interest they have to pay is so high that they do not have any hope for the future unless something extraordinary happens, and I think the cooperative movement is that "something" that every poor man is waiting for so anxiously. Until wealth is fairly distributed, we shall continue to live in a world of injustice and of military conflicts.

Through cooperative organizations the people may become co-owners of economic enterprise, and are thus able to reap the rewards of the economic process. Cooperative production is for consumption, not for profit, and may thus be geared to maximum output, which in turn may be equitably distributed to the cooperative consumer by virtue of his equitable ownership in the enterprise.

3. Cooperatives are by their very nature a bulwark of democracy and of the individual rights and liberties of men. The cooperative process is a clear manifestation of economic and social democracy in practice. It keeps private property, but lines up its use with the general welfare. It is the chief guarantee for the maintenance of real free enterprise.

4. Study groups under cooperative auspices will provide millions of persons with a democratic education. To the degree that people of any country become educated in cooperative principles they will strive for democracy, for fair dealing with all their neighbors, and for world peace.

5. Consumers' cooperatives guarantee to the consumers high-quality goods at lowest possible cost. There is a simple reason: the consumers will control production. The cooperative provides goods for its own constituent members and is thus vitally concerned with quality of goods and equality in obtaining them. Unnecessary and wasteful costs, such as excessive advertising, high-pressure salesmanship, and redundant middlemen, are eliminated.

6. People will become more socially minded and the selfish, acquisitive tendencies will decrease. Cooperation and social responsibility will control competition and profit seeking. The natural resultant will be individual and social attitudes directed toward social service. This is the new patriotism for which we may hope.

7. In the cooperative institutions of the future there will be greater opportunities than ever for the adventures of youth. The struggle against the forces of nature and the pursuing of individual and social goals may take the place of wars and conflicts. Science, philosophy, drama, art, music, invention, discovery, and all the fields of human knowledge and activity are open to challenge the cooperative spirit of youth, stimulating in them adventure and initiative, and yet giving to them vast opportunities of growth and development in a democratic society.

8. Until now machinery has proved a greater blessing to the owner than to the worker. We may expect in a cooperative democracy that every perfection of machinery will actually shorten hours and lighten labor because the consumer-workers will be the real owners of the machines.

9. Since duties and import tariffs are paid by the consumers, cooperation moves toward free trade. This movement asks no tariff discrimination. The tariff is a tax imposed upon all the consumers in the immediate interest of privileged traders or manufacturers. It is a fruitful source of international hostility and promotes monopoly and a privileged and a protected class at home. The cooperative movement, not seeking profit, aims to promote free and unobstructed commercial intercourse between all peoples as fast as the reasonable interests of the farmer and basic urban producers permit.

10. Cooperatives do not confiscate property. They proceed gradually. They work day and night for a more efficient economic order and fairer social relationships. They

oppose the use of violence and believe that social change is most effective when it is evolutionary.

11. Since everybody in the world is a consumer, cooperatives promote a human consciousness. They draw all classes into one universal class the world over. They will undermine and do away with class consciousness and lessen intolerance in all classes of people.

12. Cooperatives emphasize mutual aid and hence inspire trust and build for a peacetime social order. Destruction of property and deaths, hatred, brutality, wars—these are all foreign to the democratic spirit of cooperatives.

In conclusion, it may be said that cooperatives promote general well-being, and that when people work together faithfully for the common cause of mankind they can do all things. Cooperatives create the atmosphere within which the best in human nature is aroused and the worst is subordinated and eliminated. They make the brotherhood of man possible, first in local communities, then in regions and in nations, even between peoples, and gradually throughout the world of human beings.

REACTIONS TO LABORERS FROM RELOCATION CENTERS*

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● Harvesting the fruit and root crops in one of the intermountain counties for 1943 proved to be a very serious problem. The construction work on a new two-hundred-million-dollar steel plant, a government emergency program, was at its peak. Wages were so attractive that small acreage farmers, in many cases marginal farmers, left their crops and the bigger acreage farmers could not pay competing wages for Caucasian labor. A means of relief was discovered in the manpower of the WRA Centers.

Approximately 680 Japanese Americans and Japanese were employed in this area from July, 1943, until January, 1944—171 working more than 5 months. They worked an approximated total of 21,300 man-days during this period. The crop was 170 per cent normal.

Eighty-five per cent of the workers from the WRA Centers were hired for harvesting and farm work; however, the above total does include some light industry employment. Of the 680 workers who were employed in this county, 75 were Issei, or first generation. These, however, had been released from the camps only after careful investigation and personal declarations of allegiance to the United States. In the questionnaire the only reference to American Japanese was made in question 17, where the employers were asked if, in their way of thinking, there was any difference between Japanese born in Japan and Japanese Americans. The reason for the absence of the term "Japanese American" was to avoid confusion in the

* Publication of this article is sponsored by Alpha Kappa Delta, honorary sociology society, The University of Southern California.

minds of those filling out the questionnaire. It should be noted that 605, or 88.9 per cent of the workers, were Nisei, or second generation. These were American citizens in good standing.

The average number of persons employed by each of the 43 farmers was 14.8. The wages which were paid varied from 25c an hour to \$2.00 an hour, the average per-hour wage being 76c. Not all the employers listed the crops that the Nisei and Issei harvested for them, but the crops that were listed and the average price per hour for harvesting said crops, as reported by them, are as follows: tomatoes, 72c per hour; potatoes, 75c; peaches, 77c; cabbage, \$1.00; pears, 84c; apples, 73c; hoeing, 60c; common labor, 63c; hay, 60c; prunes, 96c; berries, 65c; cherries, 70c; lima beans, 70c; carrots, 70c; onions, 70c; beets, 65c. Twenty out of the 43 thought that the wages for the Issei and Nisei were too high; 19 thought the wages were fair; 3 were uncertain; 1 made no answer. As to whether these workers gave full value in labor for the money paid, 21 answered yes; 15 answered no; 7 were uncertain. To the question whether there was a direct effort on the part of these people to get unfair wages, 13 answered yes; 8 answered no; 10 were uncertain; 2 made no answer. When asked if they would hire this type of labor again, 22 answered yes; 8 answered no; 10 answered uncertain; 3 gave no answer. In considering whether they employed these laborers only for the reason that there was no other labor available, 38 answered yes and 5 answered no. As to the efficiency of these men, 9 reported them highly efficient; 24, efficient; 9, inefficient; and 1 was undecided.

Frequent reports have been made that the workers deliberately damaged plants and trees; so the question was asked whether the farmers felt any damage was done to plants, trees, or crops by the laborers. Fourteen checked purely accidental; 15, usual damage by any worker; 3, in-

tentional and willful destruction; 7, no damage at all; 4 gave no answer. A factor that has frequently presented a problem has been the use of the Japanese language by laborers employed by Caucasians. In response to the question whether these workmen speak in Japanese generally, sometimes, rarely, never, 8 underlined generally; 22, sometimes; 7, rarely; 6, never. When the farmers were asked if they objected to the laborers talking in their own language, 16 said yes; 24 said no; 3 were uncertain.

An attempt was made to get an estimate of the personal character of the Nisei and Issei from the employers. Hence, the latter were asked whether their employees were law abiding, unmindful of the law, or lawbreakers. Thirty-seven answered law abiding; 2, unmindful of the law; 2, lawbreakers; 2 gave no answer. Regarding the question whether these laborers worked most efficiently under close supervision, occasional inspection, complete freedom, 8 checked close supervision; 24, occasional inspection; 11, complete freedom.

The farmers were then asked to check the traits of character that most completely described their employees. The privilege was granted to add any additional words that would describe the character of these persons. Twenty-eight checked industrious; 33, courteous; 27, honest; 7, deceitful; 1 wrote "careful"; 1 wrote "fast"; 1 stated, "They are never satisfied"; and 1 wrote, "They are industrious for their own interests."

On the basis of social distance, the farmers were asked whether the farmers thought of Nisei and Issei as friends, acquaintances, strangers, or enemies. Thirteen checked the first term; 12, the second; 11, the third; 3, the last. Four employers gave no answer. Following this line of thought, information was sought regarding whether the farmers as a result of their experience as employers of Japanese Americans and Japanese had become more friendly or

more antagonistic to these people. Twenty-five underlined more friendly; 9 checked more antagonistic; 3 were uncertain; 4 gave no answer. A further effort to obtain data of a social distance nature was made by asking the employer whether, in his way of thinking, there was any difference between persons born in Japan and Japanese Americans. Thirty answered yes; 7, no; 3 were uncertain; 3 made no answer.

When the farmers were asked whether they felt that their treatment of these laborers this past season was poor, fair, good, fine, 1 said poor; 4 said fair; 27, good; 9, fine; 2 gave no answer; 29 said they had made no commitment to the Nisei and Issei whom they employed this last year for next year's work; and 13 said that they had done so.

The most desirable age for employment of evacuees, as far as the employer is concerned, is the older group, 25 and above. Nineteen of the employers listed 25 and above. The next largest number of farmers, 13, considered the ages between 20 and 24 as most desirable.

The employers were then given an opportunity in the Survey Schedule to make any comments they desired in regard to the program as it functioned this past year, and to make any suggestions for the coming year's employment. One employer seemed to feel that all the workers from the WRA should be treated somewhat as prisoners of war.

I think the War Relocation set-up and labor employment office should run the set in respect to allotments, prices, etc. They should be handled as a war problem in agriculture and not a social problem.

Another said, "I would suggest that they all be paid a definite rate per bushel throughout the season and that there should be no bargaining direct with the laborers." The employers, in some cases, were competing for the services of these workmen.

Recommendations that suggest better understanding among the employers were: "Make wages standard by age groups. The younger aren't worth as much as the older workers." "They should set a wage, and leave it that way, and not let everyone change it, as it makes your help dissatisfied to hear of others paying more. There is a difference in orchards if paid by the bushel. Old orchards are more difficult to pick than young orchards." And "In agriculture, adults with experience are far more desirable." Still another stated, "Make all the farmers pay only one price." He also added that the government should set that price.

Many of the employers seemed to be satisfied with the arrangements, as was indicated by the following statements: "Program OK. They should get same wage for same work as any other nationality, if American born." "Very effective as long as there is such shortage of labor." Another, "I think it was very fine." Still another favorable response, "I appreciate the fact that this help was made available and think it was well handled." There was also the unfavorable side, as expressed in such statements as: "I wouldn't have one on my place if I never got help."

The following statements are included to give the employment agency the full benefits of the employers' reactions: "Room for improvement in method of handling situation. Surely expect improvement." "Continue."

... that a definite program should be worked out early enough so everyone concerned would have a definite understanding at the beginning of the season, and a more conscious effort to live up to the agreement by both employer and employees.

Although there are many limitations in the findings of this study, there is social significance in the reactions of the 43 employers to the 680 Japanese Americans and Japanese whom they employed.

First, the bulk of negative reactions centered around the wage problem. The main point involved was economic profits. The crops were good, demand was great, and prices were tops. Caucasian labor was unavailable. These Americans of Japanese ancestry and the Japanese insisted upon wages in line with present economic conditions. The right to bargain is a democratic principle that all Americans cherish.

Second, more than half the employers expressed appreciation for the fact that their crops were harvested, that the work was efficiently done, and that the employees had given full value for wages received.

Finally, social nearness in terms of better understanding has resulted from this experience. Few of the employers had previously had direct contact with these people. Only 3 of the 43 checked "enemies" and 25 underlined "more friendly," as a result of their contact with their employees.

These Americans of Japanese ancestry, or Nisei, and the Issei who are favorable to the United States need to be understood in terms of what they can contribute to our society. This goal may be sought through intergroup contacts which may result in better understanding.

MOVEMENTS OF SOCIAL WITHDRAWAL

PAUL MEADOWS
Northwestern University

I

● Without the necessary canalizing patterns of culture, reactions to crisis sometimes become expressed as social movements, as "collective enterprises to establish a new order of life."¹ As such, these crisis-produced responses may, if *negative*, take such variable forms as (1) fanatical behaviors—booms, migrations, messianic movements; (2) revelous behaviors—festivals, sprees, confessionals, orgiatic dances, camp meetings, cultic groups; (3) panic behaviors—suicide, "collective psychoses," rapine, mass flights, and so forth.² If *positive*, these collective emergents from unmediated tensional situations may take such differing forms as (1) organized protest movements—farmers' protests, crusades, reform movements; (2) rebellious movements—general sabotage, undergrounds, assaults, riots, mutinies, lynchings, revolts; (3) revolutionary movements—colonial, factional, "palace," institutional; and (4) movements of social withdrawal. The latter are, for purposes of description and classification, the special interest of this article.

Movements of social withdrawal are collective protests against societal imbalances or frustrations.³ This protest is made effective by actively withdrawing from either all or most of the contacts with the offending "Great Society" and seeking the ultimate reconstruction of that society.

¹ Cf. H. Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in R. E. Park, editor, *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, 1939, p. 221.

² The most systematic discussion of these collective behavior forms may be found in R. T. LaPiere, *Collective Behavior*, 1938, "Escape Types of Interaction."

³ For a discussion of the social psychology of protest movements, cf. P. Meadows, "The Situational Dialectic of Revolution," *Social Forces*, March, 1942.

Thus, these movements exist as object lessons, not only pointing out the grave errors of the social world but also developing the possibilities of its reform. They seek to provide an environment conducive to the highest human achievement. Their logical and historical basis seems to be a firm faith in the perfectibility of human beings, if given freedom from adverse environmental conditions. Withdrawal movements are of two types, the "sectarian" and the "communitarian." The difference is one of degree, not of kind. Communitarian movements simply represent collective withdrawal carried to its logical extreme.

II

Sectarian withdrawal is characterized mainly by conflict with the erring social world, by contractual commitments of mature persons, by exclusive and rigoristic organization, by lay leadership, and by democratic member relationships. In the Christian tradition, several types may be noted.

Initially, sectarianism was monastic in character, given to communal fellowship, denoted by its ascetic protest against "the world," and leaving the sheltered monastery for the open road only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, after which it became a part of the institutional structure of the church. Beginning in the thirteenth century, sectarian protest appeared near the periphery of the church: the Cathari, the Albigenses, the Waldenses. They were followed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the Hussites, the Taborites, the Moravians. After the Protestant break with the church, sectarian withdrawal began to take place within the inner structure of religious protest itself: the Anabaptists, Mennonites, Levellers, Society of Friends, Methodists.

By the nineteenth century, sectarian withdrawal had become a conventionalized pattern of protest, legitimized

by social mobility, frontier isolation, individualism, and the Protestant tradition of the new world. Sectarian withdrawal, still religious primarily, took many new ideological directions.⁴ Pessimism about the world found expression in the adventism of the Shakers, Millerites, Seventh Day Adventists. Confidence in the perfectibility of the human species was the heart of many small Methodist sects (Wesleyan, Free, Reformed) and Holiness groups (Nazarene, Pilgrim). Desire for personal security found satisfaction either (1) by the insistence on *charisma*, on gifts from God—tongues, prophecy (Pentecostal Assemblies, Churches of God); or (2) by emphasis on some mediating element—Scripture, footwashing, baptism, sacrament (the Baptist sects, for example); or (3) by pantheistic identification with cosmic forces (New Thought, Christian Science). Some sectarian movements returned to the monastic tradition: Harmony, Oneida, House of David. Others turned to oriental philosophy with the ego-expansiveness of its esoteric, almost cultic expressions (Rosicrucians, Theosophy, Bahaism).

III

Communitarian withdrawal comes from the same sectarian die, and is almost as religious in character. There have been four types: monasticism with its ascetic protest; chiliasm with its millennialism; liberal-humanitarian communities with their utopian idealism; and socialistic communities with their ideological protest.

Monasticism has occurred in five different forms: (1) the monks and canons regular of the period before the twelfth century; (2) the military orders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; (3) the mendicant orders or friars of the thirteenth to the sixteenth century—the Fran-

⁴ Cf. E. T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America*, 1937. The study is a valuable contribution to this field.

ciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites; (4) the clerks regular of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — the Jesuits, Theatines, Barnabites; and (5) the "religious congregations" of the seventeenth to the twentieth century.

Chiliasm emerged in the early modern period as a result of the fusion of forces between religious idealism and secular protest. It suggests the arrival of the "common man" in social politics. Unlike monasticism, chiliastic communitarian withdrawal is linked with the present as a full preparation for the future. Strongly religious in inspiration and obviously communalistic in organization, chiliasm has often been acclaimed as the herald of modern socialism. In the chiliastic tradition belong the Taborites, Mennonites, Diggers, Labadists, Rappites, Bethel and Aurora communities, Shakers, and Mormons.

By the mid-nineteenth century, communitarian withdrawal was being inspired by a host of secular facts—urbanism, industrialism, technology, science, unemployment, and so forth. Liberal humanitarianism, while doing battle aggressively on many reform fronts, was ambivalent: perhaps the only dependable method of social reconstruction was an ideally developed community. Chiliasm had been the offspring of religious dissent, and was individually oriented. Utopian in character, this new expression of communitarian withdrawal was a revolt against authoritarian industrialism (and religion), and was socially oriented. There have been four types: (1) Owenite communities — New Harmony, Yellow Springs, Nashoba; (2) Fourierist communities — North American, Brook Farm; (3) Icarian communities — Red River, Nauvoo; and (4) Anarchist communities — the Society of Vaux, the Aiglèmont Colony, Modern Times.

There are few examples of socialistic communitarian withdrawal, possibly because orthodox socialistic ideology has been committed to an aggressive methodology of

social reconstruction. Two types may be noted: agrarian (such as Fairhope and Lièfra communities) and cooperative (Freidorf, Llano, Lassère).

IV

This preliminary classification of movements of social withdrawal, admittedly not complete and perhaps inaccurate in view of the many marginal groups, should serve, however, to make clear that a comparative study by sociologists of this kind of collective behavior can very fruitfully be made. Descriptive studies of the fact-finding sort have possibilities of generous returns. Interesting and valuable would be the uniformities that can easily be generalized about sequences, social and psychological bases, personalities, leaders, social controls, ideologies, organization structure, successes and failures, motivations, and many other analytical categories of these almost incredible movements of social protest. They highlight the variability of human motivation. They illustrate the adjustive processes of social organization. They offer excellent materials for "collective" social psychology.

CITIZENSHIP FOR FILIPINOS

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

The University of Southern California

● Filipinos in the United States have long been in an embarrassing position insofar as their political status is concerned. Although their country has been under the tutelage of the United States since 1898, Filipinos have not been accepted as persons eligible to become citizens of the United States through procedures of naturalization that are available to citizens of many strictly foreign countries. Even though the Philippines were a possession of the United States, the Filipinos did not know whether they belonged as individuals. In most instances they were neither citizens nor aliens. Their status, as sometimes obtains for a group which is a minority and which as such is relatively helpless, has come close on several occasions to being a football of politics. Many Filipinos have been the victims of race prejudice. Many have suffered serious forms of social discrimination.

A bill known as HR 4229 has been introduced in the Congress of the United States which authorizes "the naturalization of native-born Filipinos who are permanent residents of the United States and Filipinos who served in the military or naval forces of the United States during World War I." The proposal would class the Filipinos with the Chinese as Orientals residing in the United States who would have the opportunity of meeting the requirements for becoming naturalized citizens.

The proposed law would not affect very many Filipinos. The Census of 1940 showed that the Filipino population of the United States, including those born in the United States who already were citizens, was 45,563 on the Mainland (about the same as in 1930) and 52,969 in Hawaii

(about 10,000 less than in 1930). There is no indication that even a majority of those persons who were born in the Philippines would apply for naturalization. Moreover, not all who would apply would follow through and become naturalized. A large number would return to the Philippines and never apply for citizenship in the United States. Subtracting those born in the United States and those not likely ever to apply for citizenship, there would be left perhaps 10,000 Mainland Filipinos and 15,000 Hawaiian Filipinos, or a total of 25,000, who would apply for citizenship. Perhaps 20,000 would be the upper limit of those who would complete the process of naturalization. The "body politic" would not be affected seriously by adding these Filipinos to the persons eligible to naturalization.

The admission of Filipino immigrants to the United States has already been arranged for, but upon a very limited quota basis. According to the law that provided for the establishment in 1935 of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, only fifty selected Filipinos per year would be admitted to the United States during the ten-year period represented by the life of the Commonwealth. This number was to be increased to 100 a year after July 4, 1946, when the Commonwealth was to become a free republic. Thus, the Philippines have been assigned an immigration quota which precludes them from raising the question of discrimination on that score.

Since the United States has already agreed by law to admit annually a limited number of qualified Filipinos to become permanent residents, it is both logical and reasonable to pass a law making it possible for them to become citizens. It would be quite unrealistic and shortsighted to admit them to live here permanently and then to discriminate against them as incapable or unworthy of becoming citizens.

The admission of Chinese to opportunities of naturalization and the denial of such possibilities to Filipinos would not be consistent with a fair-minded American policy. Having acted as guardians of the Philippines for over forty years, it would be fitting for the United States to open the doors of citizenship to the small number of Filipinos who have already become permanent residents of the United States, provided they can qualify. Filipinos especially have a claim to this privilege of naturalization because their country has adopted the American form of government and our educational system, and, furthermore, it is the only oriental country in which the principal religion is Christian. Large numbers of Filipino immigrants, also many of those who may become immigrants in the future, already use the English language. Thus the Filipinos who would apply for naturalization would not have to make many serious adjustments in their mental, social, and religious life.

A possible embarrassment for naturalized Filipinos may result from the fact that one state in the Union, California, passed a law in 1933 prohibiting the marriage of Filipinos and Caucasians. If Filipino residents become citizens, it would seem unreasonable and contrary to American principles to regard these people as good enough to become citizens, yet not eligible to marry other American citizens who have Caucasian backgrounds. Of course, time will doubtless effect changes that will correct this questionable policy and other inconsistencies and discriminations. Moreover, this California law has never affected very many persons. The repeal of this law would not deeply affect life in the United States or constitute a problem comparable in any sense to other and far more serious social problems that plague the national welfare.

The proposed naturalization law would constitute another step toward changing the national policy of the

United States from a provincial one to one consistent with the Four Freedoms and with the spirit of the Constitution of the United States. It might be a minor step, but it would produce favorable reactions on the part of the natives of the Philippines, who number some 17,000,000 people, and indirectly the oppressed peoples in other countries would no doubt have a similar reaction. This policy would indicate that the United States is slowly but surely adjusting itself to a world viewpoint, and it would strengthen the feeling that the United States is a fair-minded leader in world affairs.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society, 1943, published as Vol. XII, No. 1, Research Studies of the State College of Washington, March, 1944, contains articles dealing with wartime subjects. The presidential message by Dr. Glen E. Carlson deals with "Human Relations in Forestry." He draws upon his experience as a member of a local advisory council on human relations in forestry, which is a part of a joint effort of the U.S. Forestry Service and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, to plan and develop research procedures in the problems of human relations facing the Forest Service. The research projects cover such items as behavior, attitudes, smokers' habits, forestry publicity, education and training.

The other articles deal with "Retributive Justice as a Check to Future Wars" by Dr. Richard T. LaPiere; "Rural Reactions to War Measures" by Dr. E. D. Tetreau; "Assimilation of Wartime Migrants into Community Life" by Dr. Carl F. Reuss; "Prisonization and the WRA Camps" by Dr. Leonard Bloom; and "Religious Cooperation in War-time" by Philip M. Smith.

"Experience has demonstrated the futility of retributive justice as a preventative of individual crime and of international crime," states La Piere. "It has also demonstrated that individual crime can be deterred, although not prevented, by strict, just, and coercive enforcement of socially sanctioned laws."

According to Tetreau's study, rural people, on the whole, react positively and cooperatively to war measures, and they accept as a matter of course certain wartime handicaps and restrictions, but farmers are decided in their reactions to subsidies, to centralization of control, to spoon-feeding the public on war news, and to the inequalities of the income tax, particularly those growing out of the complexity and needless ambiguities of the forms for making the required returns.

Reuss is of the opinion, based on an intensive study of migratory workers to Snohomish County, Washington, that the newcomer families are well along the road to complete assimilation into the life of the community. The assimilation process is going on despite great differences in certain background characteristics.

Although the WRA relocation camps are unlike prisons in many ways, they have some of the same effects on Japanese Americans that are usually associated with prisonization, according to Bloom. The prisonizing features include the "obscurity of the societal definition of the residents, their identification with the enemy through devices of caste, the indeterminate

prospect, the physical restrictions and conditions of the environment, and the breakdown of control features of the folk culture." The counter-acting influences include organized camp education and recreation, the camp press and other community activities, and the ties with outside friends. The crucial conflict occurs when persons consider leaving camp.

Smith points out that among the larger Protestant bodies religious cooperation has been accelerated during the war. Cooperation among Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish chaplains has inspired emulation on the part of service men of varying religious backgrounds. There is a greater degree of cooperation among service men than among civilians, but religion is evaluated on a functional relationship basis rather than as creed. Some of the smaller sects have become more aggressive and less inclined to cooperate. The war has not eliminated racial and religious hatred on the home front.

Willamette University

Dr. Sceva B. Laughlin reports that an increased number of students registered for sociology courses during the past year. The beginning course in Principles of Sociology had the largest registration in the history of the University.

The Constitution of the State of Oregon requires that the state institutions of a penal and custodial nature must be located near the state capital. It has been the policy of the Department of Sociology to make full use of such institutions as laboratories and to invite the staffs of these institutions to speak to the classes on the campus. Last year Dr. H. G. Miller, Superintendent of the Oregon School for the Feeble-minded, gave a course in Social Psychiatry. Professor E. Lockenour of the Law Faculty gives the course in Criminology and another in Public Welfare. Professor Lockenour is the author of *The Oregon Law on Domestic Relations*.

University of Washington

Dr. Ernest W. Burgess conducted a two-week seminar on "Prediction in Sociology," as a Walker-Ames Lecturer.

For the last several months, Dr. Jesse F. Steiner has been serving on the Northwest Regional War Labor Board. Dr. Norman S. Hayner has been requested by the U.S. Forestry Service to make a sociological study of the logger in the state of Washington. Preliminary field observations indicate that shifts in logging methods are changing the family and community role of the logger.

Dr. Calvin F. Schmid has prepared a sociological exhibit of Seattle based largely on his recently completed monographic study entitled *Social Trends in Seattle*; it is being published by the University of Washington Press. The Subcommittee on Social Statistics of the Pacific Coast Regional

Committee of the S.S.R.C., of which Dr. Schmid is chairman, has completed an inventory of research projects in the field of social statistics relating to the Pacific Coast. This report is now in press and will be distributed without charge. Dr. Schmid is also preparing the final report of the Washington State Census Board. The Census Board, consisting of three members, was created at the last legislative session for the purpose of distributing, on the basis of population increase, a \$2,000,000 war-emergency appropriation to the towns and cities of the state.

Mrs. Audrey Kittel James, who has been teaching fellow and associate in the department for the last five years, has accepted an instructorship at Mills College for the coming school year. Mrs. Laura Hildreth Hoffland, research fellow in sociology, passed away after a brief illness on July 2. Mrs. Hoffland received her master's degree from the University of Washington and was to receive her doctorate during the first session of summer school. Mrs. Hoffland assisted Dr. Schmid during the last two years.

JAMES FORD
1884-1944

The death on May 12 of Dr. James Ford, the distinguished sociologist and member of the Harvard faculty, is a great loss to sociology and to the field in which he specialized, housing. Dr. Ford was born October 1, 1884. He was decidedly a Harvard man, having received all of his academic degrees from that University—A.B. in 1905, A.M. in 1906, and Ph.D. in 1909. For a brief period he studied in France and at the University of Berlin. After receiving his doctorate in 1909, Dr. Ford became instructor of social ethics at Harvard. He became assistant professor in 1913 and associate professor in 1921. His teaching career covered a period of thirty-five years.

As an author and editor he produced a series of notable books. He edited *Social Problems and Social Policy*, 1923, and *Report of President's Conference on Home Building and Ownership* (with John M. Gines), 1932-33. He wrote *Slums and Housing* (with Katherine Morrow and George N. Thompson), 1936; *The Abolition of Poverty* (with Katherine Morrow Ford), 1937; *Social Deviation*, 1939; and *Modern Housing in America* (with Katherine Morrow Ford), 1940.

Dr. Ford held many federal posts, including associate director of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, manager of the homes registration and information division of the U.S. Housing Corporation, and consultant to U.S. Defense Housing Coordinator.

RACE RELATIONS CONFERENCE

The Southern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society and Alpha Kappa Delta, Honor Sociology Society, held a joint meeting Saturday, July 29, 1944, at The University of Southern California. The theme of the conference was "Race Relations." The three minority groups that are of special concern in southern California are: the Japanese, who were evacuated during the early months of the war but whose welfare and eventual return are the concern of many community leaders of the area; the Negroes, who have come into California in great numbers since 1940; and the Mexicans, who have been here in considerable numbers for some time. The meeting focused attention upon aspects of social problems created by the presence of these groups and a consideration of what may be done to improve conditions. The conference was in the nature of discussions, with four main speakers and four discussion leaders, rather than reports of specific investigations. Dr. George B. Mangold, president of the Alpha Chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta at The University of Southern California, and Dr. Ray E. Baber, vice-president of the Pacific Sociological Society, in charge of the Southern Division, arranged the program and presided over the two sessions which were held during the day.

Dr. Leonard Bloom, professor of sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles, opened the meeting by presenting an analysis of the arguments which have been advanced by various groups for the exclusion of Japanese from California. He reminded the audience of the fact that the Japanese in America may have strong racial and religious ties with the old country but that they are more nearly assimilated than we sometimes suppose. The racial ties have been overrated and the religious ties have also been overdrawn, except possibly in the case of Shintoists, but only a small fraction of the Japanese here belong to the Shinto group. The non-Christian Japanese are mostly Buddhists. Since Buddhism is not a national religion in Japan, although quite prominent, the affiliation with this religion does not necessarily mean a loyalty to Japan. It is true that some of these groups, especially the Shintoists, have language schools, but the total attendance has been small. The argument concerning dual citizenship has some validity but applies only to a small group, possibly not more than 10 per cent of all Nisei. Many have canceled their dual citizenship since 1924, when Japan recognized such dual citizenship of Japanese born in America. If we compare the number of Japanese who have dual citizenship with the numerous alien Germans and Italians, including their children who may have dual citizenship, it is obvious that the Japanese group is relatively small.

The argument that the Japanese had to be evacuated because of the danger of sabotage has practically no validity. No responsible official in the Army or other governmental department in contact with the Japanese and their activities on the Pacific Coast or in Hawaii has charged that cases of sabotage are traceable to the Japanese living in these areas, and it is doubtful if any widespread espionage was practiced by them. Dr. Bloom also stated that the Japanese Americans now in military service have demonstrated their loyalty to the United States.

Mr. Norman Houston, executive secretary, Golden State Insurance Company, discussed "Negro Migration to Los Angeles." For sociologists, the Negro migrant group presents three outstanding problems: the composition of the group, the residential intentions of the newcomers, and the problem of integration.

The Negro newcomers have come mainly from southern states. They have come into California with increasing acceleration because of dissatisfaction with their former residence and because of certain desires, hopes, and aspirations. The new group has more than doubled the Negro population of Los Angeles County during the past three years. It is estimated that there are now over 120,000 Negroes in the city of Los Angeles.

Mr. Houston quoted extensively from the community survey made in San Francisco last year, which was financed mainly by the Rosenwald Fund and made jointly by a number of agencies, and published in May, 1944. Although the Negro group of San Francisco is much smaller than the Negro population in Los Angeles, the two groups are similar in composition. The San Francisco group, however, more than trebled since 1940, increasing from 4,846 to 18,000 in three years. The San Francisco survey revealed, among other things, that 57.2 per cent of the newcomers came from Texas and Louisiana, of whom 53 per cent are females. The average age of the group is 23.13, three fourths of the newcomers are married, and the average grade level of education is 8.64. The occupational distribution shows a high preponderance of skilled (34 per cent) and semiskilled (30 per cent) workers, as compared with national occupational distribution of the Negro labor force. Consequently, the gross income of the newcomers is higher than that of the nonmigrants.

Are the Negro migrants going to stay in California? Mr. Houston thinks that a large proportion of them will remain. Of 78 industrial establishments canvassed, 22 reported that they will continue to employ Negroes after the war, 5 will discontinue employing them, and 47 indicated no policy. The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce survey of both white and Negro employees revealed that 86 per cent expected to remain

in the county and 2 per cent were doubtful, leaving only 12 per cent who expected to return to the states from which they came. The percentage of the Negro migrants who plan to stay no doubt is higher than is true of the total migrants, for when the Negroes migrate they usually sever all ties and intend to remain in the new homes. This was true even in the depths of the depression. The chances are that they lose residence in their home when they migrate and that they are strongly affected by the allurements of the new community into which they have migrated. Even if they should desire to go back after the employment period is over, they probably would not have enough money left to go back. Those who are saving their money are investing much of it in real estate, another evidence of the desire to become permanently located here. A bank in the Negro area of Los Angeles reports that the property escrows handled by the bank show that 73 per cent of the clients changed titles to real-estate properties and that 80 per cent of the loans were to Negroes, of whom one half had been in the city less than three years.

Since most of the Negro workers are employed in the aircraft and shipbuilding industries, it appears that a serious situation will arise when the "cutbacks" occur, for proportionately the Negro group would be more profoundly affected than the total population of the area and it is likely that a larger proportion of Negro workers than of the white employees will be dismissed. This situation would further intensify the serious crisis in race relations.

Improvements in housing, education, recreation, employment, and public relations of the Negro group would materially help to solve the problems created by Negro migrations to the area. In so far as public housing is concerned, the basic principle that there shall be no housing plan or policy of any kind which would tend to establish and maintain segregated projects or districts, or administrative offices, is sound. The Federal Housing Administration should make provision for private war housing loans to Negroes. Plans should be made now by the Housing Authority and all other public agencies to construct additional low-cost homes as soon as material and labor shortages permit. Private builders should be encouraged to plan for postwar low-cost private houses. Positive legal and educational steps should be taken toward elimination of deed restrictions and covenants involving race discrimination.

It is recommended that parent education be given the parents and families of migrants, that this educational program be carried on in the places where the migrants themselves most naturally congregate, such as in churches, and that more parents take advantage of the parental education work of the P.T.A. The school program, starting in the ele-

mentary grades and continuing straight through, should emphasize racial equality. Centers of recreation for youth are badly needed. Every means of education should be used to promote integration of the Negro people in the community.

To improve the employment situation, conferences made up of representatives of employer and labor groups can do much to remedy conditions in industries that are vital to war production and that have a permanent place in peacetime economy. Steps should be taken to plan reconversion and "cutbacks" of war industries in a democratic manner to prevent discriminatory firing and layoffs of Negroes and other minority groups. The Fair Employment Practices Committee should become a permanent government agency.

Drs. Glen Carlson, University of Redlands, and Charles B. Spaulding, Whittier College, discussed the problems of the employment of Mexicans, their living accommodations, and gang activities among Mexican youth. The term "Mexican" was used broadly to designate those commonly regarded as Mexicans by the community, although it was felt that a sharper discrimination is needed, differentiating between Mexican, those born in Mexico, and the Mexican American; also between those commonly classed as Mexican and those other Spanish-speaking and Latin-American groups.

Dr. Carlson stressed that racial frictions are caused more by economic factors than by purely racial, cultural, or historical differences. Unfair employment relationships have grown out of economic competition more than any other factor. The organized minority factions of the majority group have not recognized this factor sufficiently in their opposition to the Mexicans. The records of the employment of Mexicans, and of the places and kinds of employment, are sketchy. The War Manpower Commission and other governmental agencies do not keep separate records of the employment of Mexicans. It is obvious, however, that those with Mexican heritage are discriminated against in certain types of employment, especially in jobs that require contacts with the public. The percentage of Mexicans who are eligible for social security aid is relatively small. The basic needs of the Mexican group include: that they be given protection in the jobs which they now have and that these jobs be stabilized, that public housing be made available to them, that education and re-education be afforded them during the conversion period, and that special consideration be given the veterans of this group and the younger groups who are reaching maturity and who will be in need of jobs later.

Dr. Spaulding stressed particularly the housing of minority groups, especially of the Mexicans. The minority groups have greater difficulties

in finding housing accommodations than other groups, partly because of the shortage of available houses, but largely because of race discrimination. The Mexicans are not so definitely segregated as other minority groups in Los Angeles. Maps of the ecological distribution of minority groups show that the Negro group is the most highly concentrated in compact areas, whereas the Mexican group is scattered far and wide. The Mexicans are segregated chiefly on the basis of low-rent houses, which are not confined to any one area in Los Angeles. But the Mexicans who can afford better houses find themselves confronted with the discriminatory attitude of the public. Some have found that they may be able to buy houses but are not permitted to occupy them. The exclusion clauses of various subdivisions do not as a rule specify Mexicans, although they are commonly classed as non-Caucasians by real-estate operators. Some ordinances specify Mexicans along with the other groups excluded.

There is a great deal of misconception regarding gang activities among Mexicans. After all, only a small percentage of Mexican young people belong to gangs, and a small fraction of these have delinquency records. It must be recognized that gangs spring from community conditions. Since Mexicans for the most part live in slums and blighted areas, it is a wonder that so few belong to gangs. War restlessness and other conditions of the time affect them as much as other groups. The fact that some wear "zoot-suits" gives them racial visibility. Race problems are accentuated by the very fact that people are discernible by racial marks which can be seen.

Individual Mexicans are easily assimilated if given the proper chance. They are not so aggressive as some minority groups. They are frequently handicapped in getting and holding responsible positions because of the lack of educational background. This, in turn, is associated with the relatively lower economic status. Improvements in education and standard of living must go together.

M.H.N.

RACES AND CULTURE

IMMIGRATION POLICIES, CANADIAN AND AMERICAN. By "VERAX" and BRUNO LASKER. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1944, pp. 49.

"Verax" is a "Canadian public servant whose practice it is to write under a pseudonym, and Bruno Lasker is a well-known citizen of the United States who is an authority on racial questions." "Verax" leads off with a statement of twenty-five pages on the history of Canadian immigration policy, legislative measures, and Orders-in-Council regarding

immigrants. He concludes that the wish of Canadians to control their own immigration policy may run counter to their wish to develop "a strong international organization for the preservation of peace and the maintenance of justice." Lasker follows "Verax" with a paper of twenty-five pages on "immigration and immigration policy in the United States." He cites figures and states laws, and then gives interpretations of both. He points out that the country's welfare has been affected less by the competition of immigrants for jobs than it has by "the fluctuations of international trade." He urges a decent regard for the security and welfare of all branches of the human family as a means of enhancing "the security and welfare of the American people." The limited space explains the sketchy treatment of a voluminous subject on the part of both authors, and yet each has crammed his pages full of vital facts.

OUR JOB IN THE PACIFIC. By HENRY W. WALLACE. New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944, pp. 56.

In a farseeing and broad-minded way Vice-President Wallace tackles the future of Asia and the opportunities and responsibilities awaiting the United States in this connection. It is his belief that Asia cannot remain composed of nations half of which are free and half of which are subject. The former will include China, Soviet Asia, the Philippines, Korea, and Thailand. The latter refer to India, Netherlands East Indies, Burma, Malaya, and Indo-China. Japan will be in a class by itself, disarmed but encouraged to become a kind of "Asiatic Sweden." The United States should be willing "to associate with others in minding the world community's common business, but it should fight shy of minding other people's private business, just as it would resent having our business minded by others."

THE PEOPLES OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA. By OLOV R. T. JAUSE. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1944, pp. iv+28, twenty plates, one text figure.

The peoples of French Indo-China will continue to play a role before the eyes of the Western world with increasing importance for years to come. They include the Cambodians, the Annamites, the Laotians, the Malays, the Indians, the Chinese, the Japanese, and the mountain tribes. Their historical background and geographical setting are significant, and the promise already made to them by the Algiers Committee of National Liberation of gradual and ultimate emancipation brings them before the world in a new way. This document meets the major requirements for a brief presentation of a country that has been "a crossroads of peoples and cultural currents." The photographs are an excellent addition.

THE ABORIGINES—"SO-CALLED"—AND THEIR FUTURE. By G. S. GHURYE. Poona (India): Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1943, pp. xvi+232.

The author, a sociologist, tackles a problem which has important politico-economic aspects. He indicates that the process of assimilation of smaller groups of different cultures into larger ones of more or less homogeneous culture has been steadily going on in India all through the ages, removing the cultural differences in India's population; but, when the British appeared on the scene as rulers, the process was interrupted and upset. Hence new problems have arisen regarding the assimilation of the more backward peoples of India—the so-called aborigines. The purpose of the study is to present the relations of the "aborigines" to the Hindus, the Indian government, the British Parliament, and to canvass the views of various anthropologists. The fate of the backward peoples of India has become a controversial issue, owing to the impending transfer of political control from British to Indian hands, and the findings of the author are therefore of immediate practical value. Since there are millions of other colonial peoples in Southeast Asia who face similar problems in the near future, but for whom comparable studies are not available, this publication may bear enlightenment beyond India to neighboring colonies.

J.E.N.

USSR, THE STORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA. By WALTER DURANTY. Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Company, 1944, pp. 293.

Mr. Duranty writes simply yet as one having authority regarding Russia, for he has a wealth of firsthand information of that country obtained through the years. Some of the topics that are discussed are: portrait of a strong man, five-year plans, the great purge, Moscow to Munich, a temporary religion, a promise for the future. Of Stalin it is stated that he has "greater personal power than any man alive." He describes himself as Lenin's "most faithful disciple and the prolonger of his work." Stalin is described by Duranty as exhibiting "utter singlemindedness, ruthless perseverance, and a genius for political organization." Stalin is alleged to have turned from internationalism to nationalism because he foresaw the coming German invasion of Russia.

Russia is proclaimed to be "utterly different from the Western World." Moreover, Western standards cannot be applied to her. Although the Moscow Conference brought Russia, Britain, and the United States into a common agreement and recognized the claims of China, yet there is still "a wide gap between the individualist system of the United States and the collectivist system of the USSR." However, there are "no causes of fundamental conflict between the two countries." It is important that each learn more about the other and that professional agitators not be allowed to stir up ungrounded fears in either country regarding the other.

HERE IS AFRICA. By ELLEN and ATTILIO GATTI. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943, pp. 170.

In recent years and months Africa has come under the eye of the world, and American men and machines have been invading Africa. This book tells the story of Africa today by words and pictures, chiefly by magnificent photographs. Here are "millions of apathetic natives too lazy even to make a weapon to defend themselves against wild animals," and others, "who armed with only a spear, an arrow, or a knife, dare to face and attack singlehanded the mightiest lions, buffaloes or elephants," and still others, who can carve the most exquisite ornaments and implements imaginable. The authors take their readers from Morocco through Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, and Bantu Africa. The readers are introduced to "representatives of primitive humanity," possessed of courage, patience, and of an "ingenious resourcefulness by which they cheerfully face their hard existence and lighten it with comforts and beauty."

INTERRACIAL PRACTICES IN COMMUNITY Y.W.C.A.'S. Report Conducted by JULIET O. BELL and HELEN J. WILLIAMS. New York: National Board, Y.W.C.A., 1944, pp. 116.

After a careful study of the interracial practices of the Y.W.C.A., the committee in charge has published a fact-finding report that will bear serious examination. The document makes clear that the Y.W.C.A. is an organization that functions in behalf of women and girls of all races; that Negro women and girls are the leading race represented, next to white persons, in the Y.W.C.A.; that the Y.W.C.A. has pursued a trial-and-error method in developing its racial policies; and that it has conscientiously endeavored to keep the basic concepts of Christianity and democracy in mind throughout its history. Many concrete problems have arisen, such as accepting Negroes as regular members of all the activities versus the maintenance of Negro branches. The specific questions that face the racial procedure of the Y.W.C.A. are considered in a factual way, but final conclusions have been avoided.

JAPAN: ITS RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIES. By CLAYTON D. CARUS and CHARLES L. McNICHOLS. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944, pp. xvi+252.

The book is designed for the use of "future administrators of occupied territory, students of foreign trade, and business men," and it deals chiefly with agriculture, animal industries, mining, manufactures, transportation, monopolies, foreign trade, and finance. Many excellent photographic illustrations enhance the value of the book, and maps and charts also are important additions. A brief history of Japan and a short account of the "human resources" give the social setting of the economic life of the people.

Two distinct racial types are recognized. The people are described by such terms as "nervously energetic," a "very cohesive folk," and as being governed by "unity under authority." Six basic Japanese concepts are given: "Unity, compromise, indirection, patience, persistence, and ruthlessness." The main value of the treatise, however, is found in its great abundance of factual materials that delineate the economic resources of Japan. Group action and initiative rather than individual initiative is a nation-wide characteristic. Social control is in the hands of "a top-faction" group.

SOCIAL WELFARE

WAR AND CHILDREN: A MESSAGE TO AMERICAN PARENTS. By ANNA FREUD and DOROTHY BURLINGHAM. Edited by Philip R. Lehrman. New York: International University Press, 1944, pp. 191.

Anna Freud—the eminent daughter of the far-famed late psychoanalyst, Sigmund Freud—has collaborated with Mrs. Dorothy Burlingham to give some of their reflections as directors of three wartime nurseries in England, sponsored by the Foster Parents Plan for Wartime Children, Inc., and supported by voluntary contributions from America. The volume is more than a social welfare account of institutional work for children under stress. The many keen observations and strands of expert diagnosis woven into the discussion of children's reactions to wartime living frequently put the data on a level of psychosocial laboratory material.

The work in these nurseries is based on the fact that children's essential needs—for personal attachment, emotional stability, and permanence of educational influence—must be regarded as paramount in wartime way of life and must be met fully and adequately if we are to avoid lasting psychological malformations. The nurseries' goal is to (1) repair psychological damage of bombed children; (2) keep babies in close contact with their families; (3) study children's reactions to bombing, destruction, and early separation from families and communities; and (4) instruct people in present educational needs of children and lay a foundation for needed peacetime nurseries.

Many of the authors' observations are of interest: children who experience severe bombing and loss of home buried in debris can take it philosophically and no signs of traumatic shock or war neurosis are apparent if the experience occurred while they were in the presence of their parents; destructive and aggressive impulses at play and in comparative safety manifest themselves following experiences of destruction and enemy

aggression; aggressive impulses and war neuroses manifest themselves even in babies, one or two years old, in the same manner in which they usually occur among adults only when they are thrown into battle with the enemy; children do not instinctively turn away from sights of horror; they may turn toward them in primitive excitement; when deprived of strong emotional personal ties, the older child reacts like a baby, that is, though he forms tentative attachments to nursery staff, he at best reacts largely to material comforts with material contentment. If the ability to love is missing in childhood, all later relationships develop weakly, remain shallow, and create an egoism which consumes the individual with self-love. The nursery, when not handicapped by staff curtailment, tries to approximate close, intimate family life. The authors are convinced that intimate attachments in childhood are as essential to stable emotional development as calcium and vitamins are to sound physical development. However, the nursery staff also concentrates on sublimating the "first love of the child through education. Education demands continuous sacrifices of the child—to restrict his primitive affections, lessen his aggression, greed, renounce his first sexual wishes."

The book is for the most part exceptionally well written, although at times the brief excerpts from case histories tend to become chatty rather than analytical illustrations. The sound and deeply human approach to children under stress distinguishes the authors as scientists in child welfare.

PAULINE V. YOUNG

SOCIAL SERVICE IN WARTIME. Edited by HELEN R. WRIGHT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. vii+201.

Eight authors contribute essays on different phases of welfare work. These materials comprise the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures delivered in the fall of 1943 at the University of Chicago. The editor contributes the first paper—on social services at the outbreak of the war. This is followed by Jane Hoey on how the war has affected public assistance programs, and by Katharine Lenroot on the impact of the war on the welfare work for children. The social service work of the American Red Cross is presented by James T. Nicholson; Travellers Aid Service in wartime, by Margaret Creech; food and peace, by Clarence E. Pickett; and federated financing of social work, by Wayne McMillen. The last lecture, by Edith Abbott, ventures into predictions about social work after the war.

Miss Abbott believes that after the war the term "social work" will give way to "social welfare," because of the widespread trend "from private social work to public welfare services." Not all social workers will

agree with Miss Abbott when she relegates private social work to the role of chore boy for public welfare services. Many will dissent from the assertion that "the most important service these societies can render is to support the work of the public services," and others will suggest that pendulums swing and do not stand still at one extreme or the other, that public assistance has serious weaknesses as well as great strength, and that private social work instead of being an adjunct may have independent vitality and a personality touch that complements the sometimes hard and regimented hand of public assistance. No one will contradict Miss Abbott in her belief in the widely useful role of public assistance, but not everyone is yet ready to toss private social work aside.

E.S.B.

RADIO RESEARCH, 1942-1943. Edited by PAUL F. LAZARSFELD and FRANK N. STANTON. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944, pp. v+599.

This book is a sequel to *Radio Research, 1941*, and gives a summary of selected research studies of the radio during recent years. Special attention is given to daytime serials, radio in wartime, German radio propaganda to France, the use of the Lazarsfeld-Stanton Program Analyzer, various types of listener studies, and programs designed to promote the good neighbor policy. In the introduction the editors state that three trends are emphasized in the present volume: the tendency toward an integration of a variety of approaches, particularly in the study of "Daytime Serials"; the innovations in research, such as the sharpening of the studies of the effects of specific programs on selected groups of listeners; and the continuation of the discussion of and experimentation with some problems of research, notably those involved in interviewing, with special attention given to the bias of interviewers themselves.

Daytime programs, especially the soap opera variety of serials, are scrutinized and the attitudes of listeners toward them are ascertained. An Iowa study covered a cross-section of 5,325 women. One of the first problems in such a research is to determine who is a daytime serial listener. Then it is possible to ascertain why they like certain features and listen to the advice given and the appeals made.

Special attention is given to the experiences with the Lazarsfeld-Stanton Program Analyzer, which has been used for the past five years. This device tests the reactions of a listener to a radio program while he is hearing it. The reactions to the parts of the program are immediately recorded in terms of Like, Dislike, and Indifference. If he likes a part of the program, he presses a green button in one hand; if he dislikes it, he presses a red button in another hand; and if he feels indifferent, he does not press either button.

M.H.N.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS—A BRIEF STORY. Washington, D.C.: The American National Red Cross, 1944, pp. 42.

This informative document recognizes that the American Red Cross has become so definite a part of life in the United States that it is taken too much for granted. The factors leading up to the establishment of the Red Cross, the early years of searching for techniques, the development of standardized procedures for meeting both sudden disaster relief and war relief are traced with straightforward fidelity. Beneath the splendid relief achievements of the Red Cross is its spirit of human sympathy and understanding and its age-old faith in good will.

THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, 1944. Manchester, England: Cooperative Wholesale Society, 1944, pp. 128.

The careful reader of this yearbook and of its predecessors keeps up to date with the developments of the largest cooperative wholesale society in the world with its annual business that exceeds 600 million dollars. There are other advantages, too. William Bradshaw, president of C.W.S., reviews the year's progress. Harold J. Laski summarizes the hundred years of history of the cooperative movement since the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers was founded in 1844. In fact, this yearbook is prepared in terms of a centennial publication more than as an annual. The photographs feature the early pioneers, and several graphs depict the growth of the cooperative movement in Britain by twenty-five year periods. Much factual data are included. The directory of cooperative organizations is valuable. All in all, this yearbook is a handy reference work.

THE DECLINE OF A COTTON TEXTILE CITY. By SEYMOUR LOUIS WOLFBEIN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. 179.

This fine, intensive study of the decline of new Bedford, Massachusetts, is sociologically significant. The factor of social change is well illuminated through the discussion. During the greater part of the nineteenth century the city had been the largest whaling center in the United States. The discovery of oil in the fields of Pennsylvania brought an end to the profits from whaling. Fortunately, in the city were several cotton mills to which investors then turned their attention. By 1910 the city had become the center of the manufacture of the finest of cotton goods. The first World War brought to New Bedford the beginning of an era of unprecedented prosperity. The advent of the automobile, with its demand for coarse cotton cloth and yarn, seemed to assure New Bedford that its prosperity would be permanent. But the South was a stern competitor in the manufacture of the coarser cotton products and the profits began to disappear. In 1928 a proposed 10 per cent wage cut was met with a pro-

longed strike, and the next year came the depression. The mills of the city were reduced by two thirds and unemployment stalked through the city. New Bedford had become a typical example of a depressed one-industry town. Such factors as industrial crises, labor troubles, incompetent management, lack of planning, and regional economic competition were responsible for the unhappy social changes which overtook the town. The present war has revived the city, but what the future will bring may depend upon how well the lessons have been learned. M.J.V.

FAMILY BUDGET COUNSELING. Edited by DOROTHY BOOK. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1944, pp. 92.

This pamphlet is the work of the Family Financial Management Committee of the Family Welfare Association of America. Its purpose is to help the case worker become familiar with the variety of economic problems confronting families in the war and postwar periods and to add to her knowledge of the social treatment of these problems. It grew out of the conviction that the case worker cannot help families with financial problems unless she knows the basic elements of family economics and integrates this knowledge with psychological understanding. Included are brief but valuable discussions of the psychological meaning of money, the basic elements in planning the budget, and the broader aspects of family financial management including savings, resources, and credit. The discussion emphasizes that case work practice in the area of budget counseling is no different from its practice in the social treatment of other problems; that principles of diagnosis and treatment remain the same, with a working knowledge of family economics being a specific need in the treatment of financial problems.

The pamphlet uses illustrative material to good advantage and includes a bibliography of books and pamphlets for the use of the case worker and also for the use of the family. The publication has real value for every social worker concerned with the economic aspects of family life.

RUBY S. INLOW

INSTITUTIONS SERVING CHILDREN. By HOWARD W. HOPKIRK. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1944, pp. xiv+244.

Children's institutions are an important factor in child care; there are more than 250,000 children under their care at the present time. This book therefore studies our institutions for dependent and neglected children and analyzes their place in the child welfare program. A brief historical sketch is presented as well as the institutional developments for special types of children. The struggle between the advocates of foster family care and of institutional placement has subsided in favor of a common-sense point of view which recognizes an appropriate function from each.

Successful institution care depends to a large extent on the quality of the staff and the conditions under which it is allowed or required to work. An important chapter deals with usable types of buildings and building equipment. Most important of all is the care of the child. Part IV deals with this subject and discusses problems of health, clothing, education, recreation, religious training, and punishment.

The self-analysis or survey of institutions is extremely important. About one third of the institutions are so inferior in leadership and resources that they should be abandoned. An equal number have developed high standards, but these and the remaining one third should constantly study their weaknesses and improve their service. The scope and method of a typical survey are also briefly set forth. This book should prove most helpful to directors of children's institutions and enable them to understand the requisites for successful organization, equipment, and service.

LOW COST HOUSING IN LATIN AMERICA. By ROBERT C. JAMES. Division of Labor and Social Information of the Pan American Union, pp. 20.

This report describes some of the steps in low-cost housing that have been taken by certain Latin-American countries. That bad housing conditions are common throughout these countries is an unfortunate fact. In most of the countries initial legislation has been enacted, but the number of houses constructed is still very small. Most of the work has been done in the cities. Better rural housing, however, is a most urgent need.

PEACE, PLENTY, AND PETROLEUM. By B. T. BROOKS. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Jaques Cattell Press, 1944, pp. vi+197.

At the conclusion of this discussion of the oil history of the United States since 1920 and of the geography of oil production, the author concludes that the United States is becoming increasingly dependent on oil, that we cannot continue "to find oil in the United States sufficient to meet the demands of our peace-time industrial economy," and that "oil is the primary munition of modern war." Hence, the United States is dependent on the activities of her private oil companies who are active abroad and in the importation of foreign oil. Thus, this need "is bringing the dollar back into American diplomacy," and some of the idealism in the Atlantic Charter is being lost. The author looks forward to a world rationing of petroleum and of quotas for certain nations, and to "a kind of world-wide oil cartel." This is a somewhat ominous outlook.

SOCIAL THEORY

PRINCIPLES OF BEHAVIOR: AN INTRODUCTION TO BEHAVIOR THEORY. By CLARK L. HULL. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943, pp. x+409.

During the last fifteen years Hull and his students have been investigating the problem of behavior, seeking a single complex structure. The large group of articles and development of concepts as well as the material of the recent *Mathematico-Deductive Theory of Rote Learning* have now been carefully systematized in *Principles of Behavior*.

The book undertakes a development of a set of postulates which may serve as a tentative basis for an objective theory of behavior. Some sixteen postulates are set down and certain "major theorems" are carefully developed. From the postulates many subordinate corollaries are established as well as "major corollaries."

Hull feels that "Students of behavior have resorted to the coarse, or 'molar,' laws of neural activity as revealed by the conditioned reflex and related experiments, rather than to the 'molecular' results of neurophysiology, because the latter are not yet adequate." (Page 29.) Such a position, of course, still more completely rejects any approach based upon speculative theorizing or a simple pragmatic acceptance. Hull would seek out explanations of more complex interactions between organism and environment by the development of laws founded upon "molecular" rather than "molar" elements.

In the development of postulates, Hull examines the experimental evidence. Since most of the available data are "molar," this approach is used of necessity. Care is used in pointing out inferential steps where taken, and one is at all times conscious of a most careful and rigorous treatment. Whereas earlier works of Hull contain many mathematical formulations which prove difficult reading for many, in the present work such material has been placed in separate sections, and verbal explanations have been used throughout the text. It is to be expected that disagreement may occur regarding the nature of the postulates and the adequacy of the data upon which they are established. The system allows for extension. It is presented as neither complete nor final. It is anticipated that it will be expanded. Hull hopes that its cumulation will find crystallization in the rigor of symbolic logic. Further he says, "In so far as these principles or postulates are sound and sufficient, it should be possible to deduce from them an extensive logical hierarchy of secondary principles which will exactly parallel all the objectively observable phenomena of the behavior of higher organisms; such a hierarchy would constitute a systematic theory of all social sciences." Surely a noble end

for the vast accumulation of objective materials that have been assembled in the social sciences these past years.

The work represents the highest development of the S-R theory; and, while it allows within its structure for the inclusion of "field" theorists, it is doubtful that it will be accepted by such at this time. Further attempts to include all experimentation within the compass of the postulates may contribute to this end.

If the social sciences are to become full-blown sciences, then Hull's following in the path of science and his search for "molecular" elements make his book a milestone in the long and difficult task. No work that has been so carefully thought through is easy reading, but it deserves the careful attention of all who have an interest in this most important problem.

R. R. G. WATT

BUSINESS AS A SYSTEM OF POWER. By ROBERT A. BRADY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. xii+340.

Comparatively few persons are aware of the degree to which concentration of power has taken place in the leading industrial nations, and of the general trend of business interests to become organized for political action. In this book the process, which has been going on for decades, is clearly outlined, and the author has analyzed his findings with exceptional penetration to search out the ultimate objectives of power-motivated business.

To indicate the pattern followed by the author, he traces the origins of imperial capitalism, the growth of combinations and monopoly groupings, the evolution of national federations in industry, the centralization of power, and the development of "status capitalism," until it is shown beyond a doubt that a few mammoth concerns control the economic life of the state. This he does for Germany, Italy, Japan, France, England, and the United States. There may be certain national variations, but the significant thing is the great similarity in development. Having considered these six nations separately, the final chapters evaluate in a comparative manner the economic, social, and political policies which are resultants of the evolution of centralized policy-forming power in business.

It is shown that the people in the United States are threatened with the same economic and political fate as was suffered in Germany, Italy, and Japan. Furthermore, unless we wake up soon, it may be too late for this country to save its remnants of democracy from the effects of totalitarian bureaucratic methods which big business has created not only within the nation, but internationally through the collusion of cartels. This is a book one cannot overestimate.

J.E.N.

A GUIDE TO PUBLIC OPINION POLLS. By GEORGE GALLUP. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. 80.

Eighty questions commonly asked about public opinion polls are cited and answered briefly in this book. The purpose is not only that of satisfying the ordinary citizen but also that of providing data concerning public opinion research and of offering a better understanding of "the value to democratic governments" of public opinion polls. The questions that are asked and answered relate to (1) the function of public opinion polls, (2) the size of the sample, (3) the cross section, (4) the problem of questions, (5) interviewers and interviewing problems, (6) polling accuracy, (7) election predictions, (8) interpretation and reporting of results, (9) significance of public opinion poll results, and (10) measurement of the intensity of opinion. Sample questions from the group of eighty may be given: How can you ask questions of people in such a manner as to be sure that you are finding out what they really think? Who decides what questions shall be asked? How are interviewers chosen? Who pays for the polls? Will the time come when people will be polled to death? This "primer" gives evidence that considerable progress is being made in the skills used by public opinion polls.

T.V.A.—DEMOCRACY ON THE MARCH. By DAVID LILIENTHAL. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944, pp. 225.

This is an unusually appealing book. The opening pages read like poetry in prose and are filled with drama; the story of technical achievements which ties the book together is vividly told, and the reader follows through each page to the end. While the author modestly disclaims literary ability and says, "I am an administrator and not a professional writer," he has demonstrated a consummate skill of dramatic presentation of what might have been either a highly technical or a dry-as-dust document.

This account of T.V.A. has sociological value in its stress upon sound principles of community organization and in its summarizing of the social results achieved in cultural change, in expanding personal and family life, in cooperatives, farm demonstrations, increase in income, improvement in standards of living, economic development of the area, increase in production of electrical power and in its use both industrial and domestic, new recreational facilities tying in with the beauty of the lakes and hills and trees, and finally in democracy in action as people, local officials, and T.V.A. cooperate. Nowhere in the book is there any discussion of the interracial situation.

Just as Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina draws a difference between regionalism and sectionalism, Mr. Lilienthal does the same and says: "Modern regionalism rests squarely upon the

supremacy of the national interest, not upon the self-centered interests of its separate area." A basic question may be raised as to whether it is socially and politically wise to entrust to a federal corporation answerable directly to the President, since it is a branch of the executive setup (and, of course, eventually to Congress), so huge a financial and administrative agency. The question is not simply that of regional autonomy versus centralized government, because here in T.V.A. is a complex and compound illustration of both. The democratic participation of the people is a stimulated one with the initiating leadership not local representatives but administrators of the T.V.A.

However, Mr. Lilienthal's philosophy reflects real sincerity and offers an inspiring challenge to a weary and sometimes disillusioned people. Let us conclude with brief sentences from the last chapter. "I do not, of course, believe that when men change their physical environment they are inevitably happier or better. The machine that frees a man's back of drudgery does not thereby make his spirit free.—There is no technology of goodness. Men must make themselves spiritually free." B.A.MCC.

THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR PEACE. By ANDRE VISSON. New York: The Viking Press, 1944, pp. 301.

This is not a book on peace or a blueprint for a new postwar order. It presents some of the internal problems of the United Nations which will have to be solved if there is to be any semblance of an enduring peace. Among these problems is the nature of British-American relations, so vital if the United Nations are to continue in cooperation. What, furthermore, will be the future relations of the Soviet Union with her present Allies? What will Russia arrange with Poland, Finland, and the Baltic States? Will France be restored as a power on the continent? No one can answer such questions ahead of time, but Mr. Visson has aired significantly the principal issues involved. The future of the Scandinavian countries, Holland, and Belgium as restored nations is more clear. But for Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, with the opposition possible between their minority groups, the future is seriously problematical. Greece, Danubian Europe, Arabia, Iraq, Palestine, North Africa, and other regions are also unknown quantities, since their resources offer strong temptations to outsiders.

The author impartially points out the subjective and self-centered motives of the various nations, criticizes their competitive outlook while acknowledging the factor of nationalism, and indicates the need for tolerance, for concessions, and for cooperation. The book may be heartily recommended to those who want enlightenment about the kind of world from which we hope to gain a peace. It makes no false promises, but prepares the reader to face reality.

J.E.N.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF AMERICAN PSYCHIATRY. J. K. HALL, general editor. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. xxiv+649.

This book was prepared under the direction of an editorial board appointed jointly by the American Psychiatric Association and the American Association of the History of Medicine. A first glance at the table of contents suggests the omission of many important aspects of American psychiatry, for example, child guidance and psychiatric social work. The volume is not intended, however, to be a comprehensive representation. Dr. Gregory Zilboorg, in presenting the volume, urges that the foreword be carefully read and says that "the volume is . . . intended to represent a survey of psychiatry as a growing cultural force." As such, it is a major contribution to psychiatric literature, important to the general reader as well as to the psychiatrist.

The book consists of fifteen chapters, covering the beginnings of psychiatry in Europe and in our own country, American mental hospitals, psychiatric research, psychiatric literature, psychiatric therapies, mental hygiene, military psychiatry, the relationship of psychology to psychiatry, psychiatry as a specialty, legal aspects of psychiatry, and the influence of psychiatry on anthropology.

The chapters on military psychiatry in three wars illustrate the value this volume has in giving historical perspective to some of the pressing problems of today. During the Civil War the lack of adequate psychiatric screening in the draft process was sharply criticized by several psychiatric writers. In World War I it again became obvious that "the incidence of military neuropsychiatric disabilities can be most effectively reduced at the manpower source—the induction center," and General Pershing cabled from France a plea to this effect. In spite of the lessons learned and in spite of the efforts of psychiatrists, it was not until seven or eight million men had already gone through the draft process in World War II that moderately adequate psychiatric screening was instituted by the selective service system. The most notable developments in psychiatry in World War II at the time of publication were the application, on a limited scale, of psychiatric techniques in building morale among troops, the tendency to consult psychiatrists in handling delinquent soldiers, and the recognition given to the psychiatric component in certain diseases (as peptic ulcer).

A brief review cannot do justice to the many contributions. The book affords invaluable reference material for those interested in the development of psychiatry. It represents the expression of an ideal, namely, that the volume might be " . . . a modest but earnest contribution to the history

of American thought and culture as reflected and refracted in the development of a medical discipline which is still young and vigorous enough to be adventurous, and yet is already mature enough to become a factor in almost every walk of our daily life: as human beings, as citizens, as men-in-the-street and as leaders of others, as pupils at the hands of life and as teachers under the guidance of the laws of mental functioning, as prisoners of the law and as judges on the bench."

RUBY S. INLOW

YANKEE FROM OLYMPUS. By CATHERINE DRINKER BOWEN. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1944, pp. xvii+475.

Catherine Drinker Bowen invests with all her brilliant literary craftsmanship this narration of the tale of the lives of three generations of the Holmes family of Cambridge and Boston. Abiel Holmes, grandfather and staunch Calvinist, Oliver Wendell Holmes, father and witty physician-poet, and Mr. Justice Holmes, son and social interpreter of the law—all three live vividly once more in the pages of this biography. But it is more than just a biography of the lives of three generations of men. The recitation of their activities provides a writer's holiday for Mrs. Bowen as she swiftly fills in the backgrounds for the scenes in and around Boston for a full century.

But it is the story of the author's hero, Mr. Justice Holmes, that finally enraptures the reader. For here is the Yankee from Olympus. This story is made uniquely magnetic by the device of presenting the two strikingly different men of two other generations of the same family, the stubborn Calvinist and the broadly, humorously inclined "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table." As a youth, Holmes had all the advantages which came from constant association with the best minds of the "literary hub" of the country. Twice wounded in the battles of the Civil War, he returned to Boston to continue his law studies, somewhat disillusioned. It was the ideology of jurisprudence that fascinated him with a singleness of purpose. He almost lost the girl he loved. It was his Uncle John who prodded him on in the love affair and caused him to recollect that Fanny had once asked, "Has Wendell always cared more for ideas than he does for people?" Fanny Dixwell became his devoted life partner for the next fifty-seven years.

In 1902 President Roosevelt called him from the Massachusetts Supreme Court to Washington. Holmes put it up to Fanny. "Wendell," she remarked, "you have gone as far in Massachusetts as you can go. . . . Are you going to stop just because the calendar says sixty? . . . Break up our home—why can't we? . . . You may leave that to me." Both were frightened. Poor Fanny confided to a friend, "Mary, look at me. How

can I go to Washington—I, who look like an abandoned farm in Maine?" How the Holmeses hobnobbed with the great and near-great in Washington, how they dealt with the little politicians, and how they handled the social conventions imposed upon them make for brilliant reporting. Holmes earned the title of the Great Dissenter because he never lost his early idea that judicial reasoning was often inadequate. "The true grounds of decision are considerations of policy and social advantage"—this was the spirit of the reasoning that made his a youthful mind at ninety.

M.J.V.

DIAGNOSIS OF OUR TIME. By KARL MANNHEIM. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. xi+195.

Dr. Mannheim's reputation as an original thinker in the field of social philosophy and sociology was built up in his works on *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* and *Ideology and Utopia*; it is fully sustained in this new book. Here he follows his earlier lines of thought but makes an excursion into the sociology of education and the sociology of religion. His erudition is brought fruitfully to bear upon new and current problems arising out of changes due to the war. His German backgrounds are now supplemented by his residence for several years in England. He examines the nature of democracy in its English setting, and contrasts the English willingness to abide by rules with American tendencies to flaunt rules. He sees the English acceptance of rules, no longer as a sign of backwardness or as evidence of a slow traditionalism, but as a possible safeguard "against the megalomaniac excesses of private monopolists and potential fascists." This observance of rules may be a kind of self-discipline that is a precondition of Planning for Freedom.

An education for self-control in individuals is considered necessary for democratic planning. A planned society in Britain may perpetuate snobishness, whereas in the United States there is a general awareness of the needs of a new society and a greater willingness to make changes in line with these needs. Social awareness of needs is vital to democratic progress. The author sharply distinguishes between social planning for uniformity and social planning for freedom and variety. Planning for freedom involves a full-fledged program for organizing the entire youth of a nation and for putting their latent potentialities at the service of the community. Youth are needed as partners in planning for a dynamic new world. An individual member of a gang may best be educated by "giving the gang a new and socially useful task." The new education will base its program on educating individuals "always as members of a social group."

The author points out that one cannot be "a good Christian in a society where the basic rules are against the spirit of Christianity." Serfdom in any field of activity today compels not only the "serf" to remain sub-human but also the "superior" to behave as a non-Christian. The author holds that in this age "education for competitiveness is no use" if in the future society must rely on cooperation.

E.S.B.

JOURNAL OF LEGAL AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY. New York: Philosophical Library, 15 East 40th Street.

Some of our readers will no doubt be glad to know about a new journal, which appears semiannually and features articles in the field of legal and political sociology. Thus far it has been issued in double numbers; and Volume I, now complete, as issued in October, 1942, and April, 1943, sets a high standard. The first issue, with the general title "Democracy and Social Structure," contains seven articles; the second, entitled "Property and Social Structure," has eight articles. Space prohibits listing of the articles, but it is a pleasure to recommend them to your attention as a real contribution to this branch of sociology.

WOODROW WILSON STILL LIVES—HIS WORLD IDEALS TRIUMPHANT. By J. EUGENE HARLEY. Los Angeles: Center for International Understanding, 1944, pp. xiv+193.

That the League of Nations is a going concern, and the soul of Woodrow Wilson is marching on, is the theme of this timely book. The League would in some respects, however, need revival, and in one of the chapters there are many citations from the writings or speeches of prominent leaders representative of the several continents, hopeful of the actual revival of the League or some improvement of it. The author's profound admiration for Woodrow Wilson is reflected in the selections from Wilson's own prophetic words, which are thus made available again for guidance at this crucial period when similar issues threaten the world. In this, his own tribute to Woodrow Wilson, Professor Harley has included a chapter consisting of tributes expressed by many contemporary scholars and statesmen. Various documents concerning international cooperation, from the Achaean League to the present, lay a foundation for our hopes for a revival of organization for peace. As a prominent leader in the League of Nations Association, the author stands fearlessly according to his convictions concerning the potentialities of the League. Familiar as he is with the literature of international cooperation, he knows that no one has improved upon the ideals expressed by Woodrow Wilson for collective security; therefore, "Let Woodrow Wilson Speak Now."

J.E.N.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS. Proposed Objectives and Methods. By WILLIAM E. VICKERY and STEWART G. COLE. Foreword by William Heard Kilpatrick. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943, pp. 214.

This book is Volume I in a series of "Teachers' Manuals and Resource Units," sponsored by the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education, located in New York. Four kinds of intergroup tensions which have become the concern of the schools are listed. They are (1) nationalistic adverse attitudes, (2) religious antagonisms, (3) racial antagonism and discrimination, and (4) tensions growing out of differences in socioeconomic status. The authors believe that "race and culture conflicts are serious threats to the well-being of individuals, of communities, and of the American nations as a whole"; and "that these conflicts can be lessened and, in certain instances, eliminated by a carefully planned educational program."

Intercultural education promotes cultural interchange. It believes that cultural differences within the United States should be preserved "so that the American way of life can constantly be refreshed and reinforced by peaceful cultural interaction; at the same time it seeks to unite all sub-groups in a common national loyalty so that this country can function as a unit in solving national problems and in dealing with international affairs."

Detailed suggestions are offered for "planning a program of intercultural education" and for "selecting and organizing class room materials" for various grades beginning with the kindergarten and carried through the senior high school. Finally, methods and techniques are reviewed including classroom methods, out-of-class procedures, and community-centered activities. The last chapter defines various concepts important for a program of intercultural education such as cultural democracy, culture, race, religion, majority and minority groups, acculturation, attitude, prejudice, and intercultural education itself. Three key words in facilitating intercultural education are understanding, appreciation, and cooperation.

B.A.MCC.

DURABLE PEACE. A STUDY IN AMERICAN NATIONAL POLICY. By ROSS J. S. HOFFMAN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. 120.

After pointing out the need for realism, prudence, and justice in order that the people of the United States may be capable of forming international policies, the author in a matter-of-fact manner hopefully lays down definite principles for a permanent American foreign policy. It is regretfully mentioned by him that, for Mr. Churchill and President

Roosevelt alike, this has been "a war for survival," and that both of them have been reluctant to draw a new design for a postwar world. In the view of the author, Britons and Americans have a mutual interest in deciding upon policies concerning their future relations with Russia, various European nations, and Asia; and the alternatives open to the principal nations are carefully, though briefly, weighed. While evaluating federation as against "balance of power," it is shown that they are not mutually exclusive; the views of Mr. Walter Lippmann, Marshal Smuts, and others are criticized pro and con. Mr. Hoffman recommends the organization of the peace of the Atlantic community of nations, points out that the Atlantic as the world's great artery must be made safe, and the cooperation of Russia must be maintained. Although he frankly mentions the shortcomings of President Roosevelt and others in handling past issues which required statesmanship, the author thinks that later decisions and actions symbolize the emergence of a new quality of statesmanship on the part of President Roosevelt, and the ability to formulate a national policy.

J.E.N.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

THE RECENT TREND OF SALARIES IN CHILD WELFARE AGENCIES.

By RALPH G. HURLIN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1944, pp. 14.

PRE-EMPLOYMENT TRAINEES AND WAR PRODUCTION.

Washington, D.C.: Federal Security Agency, U.S. Office of Education, 1943, pp. viii+88.

COOPERATION FOR WHAT? UNITED STATES AND BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

By F. R. SCOTT. New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944, pp. 64.

OPERATION STATISTICS OF SELECTED FAMILY CASEWORK AGENCIES, 1943.

By RALPH G. HURLIN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1944.

ANNUAL REPORT (1943) AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF 1944.

By E. R. BOWEN. Chicago: The Cooperative League, 1944, pp. 24.

A brief but excellent survey and prognosis of the cooperative movement in the United States.

WEBSTER'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

Springfield, Massachusetts: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1943, pp. 1,736.

A total of 40,000 concise biographies are given in this dictionary. They include the names of leaders of all countries today and they reach back into the past of all nationalities, races, creeds, and occupations.

SOCIAL FICTION

FAIR STOOD THE WIND FOR FRANCE. By H. E. BATES. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944, pp. 270.

The author of this matchless and exciting novel, at present a member of the R.A.F., has distinguished himself previously as a novelist. The reader will at once detect in this tale the air of authenticity which it carries. Two fine themes run through it. One is the story of an English aviator forced down in the marshes of France when his plane develops engine trouble; the other, the story of some superbly heroic French peasants, quietly awaiting the day of liberation. Franklin and his four crew members are well aware that only a miracle may be able to save them from capture and death. They know that they must in all likelihood crawl their way through fields, ford streams, and elude the German sentries. And Franklin's arm has been badly torn. That night they take shelter in a field near the edge of a wood. From it they can peer down into the river valley. A farm house and a mill offer them a ray of hope. In the morning Franklin walks to the house. A girl is in the yard, feeding her hens. "I'm English," he says to her. "Can you help? Please." Quite calmly she replies that he is in Occupied France. Yes, she will give him shelter. It will be all right for his four men to come in. In the house are her old grandmother and her father, who accept them. The men are given refuge in the mill and asked not to appear outside save at night. Grandmother, father, and daughter represent three generations of French people possessing indomitable spirit and dauntless courage.

These heroic people manage to get four passports to Spain for the crew men. Romance has its own way of saving Franklin. His arm has to be amputated by a French surgeon in the near-by town. The good doctor tells Franklin that helping him is one of the few right and honorable things that the French can still do. As soon as the operation has lost its worst effects, Francoise, the girl, takes Franklin, first by rowboat, then by train, to the Spanish border. This is a hazardous trip for both. On the way, they meet with people who will aid only by being bribed, with people who will aid willingly for the honor of France, with those who will not aid at all. There is pictured the France that does not forget the spirit of Jeanne D'Arc and the France that has forgotten and lies dishonored. It is the abiding faith of Francoise that saves both and brings a new sense of values to Franklin. This, then, is the symbolism of firm and steady faith working quietly and without glamour in the tumultuous darkness enveloping France and clinging, however desperately, to the hope that through the morning mists the sun will shine with beneficence once more upon the faithful.

M.J.V.

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